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## Selections.

## FRIENDLY CORRESPONDENCE.

### PROF. NEWMAN TO MR. GARRISON.

10 CIRCUS ROAD, LONDON, N. W., June 7, 1864.

*To* WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Apostle of Negro Freedom.*

DEAR SIR: Your name is revered by all here who know and care for the moral struggles of your nation, and the prospects of human justice. I write to you by way of honor, and with great cordiality, though also for expostulation; having no other objects than those sacred interests, Truth and Right, to which you have devoted your life, with sacrifices such as it has not been my privilege to make.

You have hitherto been strong by fixing your eyes on absolute right, and disdaining any compromise, such as serfdom in place of slavery would be. This may have made you (for aught I know) treasonable or factious; it may have embarrassed and temporarily weakened good men, who were attempting half measures when whole measures were impossible. But it has given to your word immense moral weight in certain directions; nay, and weight even to your silence. If it can be said, "Garrison does not reprove Gen. Banks's measures," it will be inferred that they do full justice to the colored race. A great responsibility now rests on you to use this power aright.

From the day that I knew Garrison and Wendell Phillips to have become Unionists and supporters of the war, I believed it to be a glorious and fruitful war of freedom. The English people at large were not able to calculate or understand the advantage which the cause of freedom would assuredly have gained, if the rebels had been terrified at your firm front, and had returned to the Union without war—humiliated, but on their old footing. Hence, while hostile to the wicked South, we were cold to the North until Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of September, 1862, aroused us. Legal documents are always harsh and obscure to the unprofessional, and we habitually accept their interpretation from others. Leading articles of newspapers interpreted the proclamation for us, or, rather, misinterpreted it. I have but lately come to understand it aright, reading it as explained by facts. My new perceptions are truly painful, and very unwelcome.

In the dinner given at Boston to Mr. Roudanez and Capt. Bertonneau, colored delegates from Louisiana, I read that you said (not, I believe, for the first time) that the President has pledged himself for the freedom of "the three million slaves of the rebel States." That was the sense in which *we* popularly understood the proclamation. When any (in true or feigned zeal for freedom) cried out: "Why does not the President free the slaves of Kentucky?" we had the ready answer: "The Supreme Court will overrule him, if he attempts it; his legal powers do not reach so far." But we believed that a free Tennessee would soon ensure a free Kentucky. We were under the delusion that Tennessee and Louisiana would forthwith be made free States. I believe they together contain above a million and a quarter slaves. This is a horribly large deduction from your three million; but the *principles* which have detained them in slavery would be equally alarming, if only thirteen thousand instead of thirteen hundred thousand were here involved.

A friend of mine (an M.P.) told me that an eminent person, whom I may not name, in conversation with him, called Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, when we were beginning to glorify it, "a villainous hypocrisy; for he refused to set free those whom he could, while pretending to set free those whom he could not." I need not tell you, that a bitter desire to see your proud Union broken to pieces animated that utterance; but I was surprised that a statesman with a name to lose should commit himself to (what I deemed) an ignorant, vulgar slander; for I thought the reproach to be directed only against the slavery still endured in the States which had not rebelled. I am now pierced in heart to discover, that, however envenomed in the phrase, it was no slander at all, but a terrible truth.

The proclamation did not say that, on Jan. 1st, 1863, "the slaves of all the States which *have rebelled* shall be free"; but, "the slaves of States which shall be *then* in rebellion"; and since, on that day, the hand of the North was so heavy on Western Tennessee and New Orleans that they *could not* rebel (though they would have rebelled in five minutes, had your armies been withdrawn), your President kept his word to the letter by excepting many hundred thousand persons from freedom. Butler, Chase, Fremont, Sumner, Andrew—any Northern Abolitionist—any ordinary Englishman—in the Presidential chair, would have interpreted his right to neglect Southern institutions as depending—1, on the States having thrown off allegiance; 2, on the immorality and injustice of certain laws; 3, on their inconsistency with Republicanism, which Congress is bound to maintain; 4, on the necessity of providing against future rebellion by a high-handed removal of that which has caused the present rebellion. But Mr. Lincoln puts a Southern interpretation on your Constitution, which is to you a great and threatening calamity. He seems to believe that he has sworn to support slavery for the rebels, and that his oath can only be relaxed in the crisis when your ship of State is foundering. He demands disaster, slaughter, visible impending ruin, as an inexorable *condition*, before he is allowed to free a slave. You must pay in blood of white men for freedom of black; and the more honest he is, the worse for you. It is now cruelly manifest, that your heroes of Pittsburg Landing and Fort Donnelson were too brave. If they had been driven back with ignominy—and much more certainly, if they had been massacred in heaps—a second year's war would have brought freedom to Tennessee. But, alas for the good cause! You conquered in the first campaign; you stuck firm in the conquest; you did not fulfill the *requisite condition* of humiliating disasters: hence your arms, instead of striking off fetters from the slave, are become the tools of the slave-owner. And why? Is it because the Supreme Court would have overruled a President who freed the slaves of a State in rebellion? No: but because, with your President, it is not the treason of the rebels, but your "military necessity"—that is, present and galling danger—which *alone* makes his conscience easy in a deed so rash and desperate as that of giving to his innocent, injured, loyal fellow-citizens their elementary natural rights. His Proclamation has done immense good; nor will I yield to you in extolling many of his acts. Yet if we had understood the quality of his logic, his exclusion of morality from Presidential duties, and his wonderful disowning of all duty towards colored men not prescribed in the codes of slaveholders, it would have been impossible to excite enthusiasm for him in an English audience. Had "three groans for the slaves of Tennessee" been called for by a Confederate sympathizer, the meetings must have been broken up in despair, without our being able to send you a single congratulation.

A secondary yet very grave result of Mr. Lincoln's peculiar conscience is, that while elected (as we thought) to oppose the Southern doctrine, that slavery is national, not merely local; he has for the first time given to slavery the national *status* which it coveted. In old days, the inquiry was maintained in Tennessee by local wickedness only. Mr. Lincoln has insisted (quite gratuitously, as it has seemed to Europeans) on upholding it there by Federal guilt; and has forced Northern soldiers to become the vile instruments of the slaveholder, which they disdained to be in their native States. This is a deed, to which William Lloyd Garrison's indignation seems justly due. (A friend who reads *The Liberator* will not believe the fact; oh that I could learn that I am under a delusion!) Mr. Lincoln of late wrote deliberately, "If slavery is not wrong, then nothing is wrong." Yet he has *voluntarily* taken an oath which he imagines to bind him to uphold wrong so superlative; and he does uphold it, instead of abdicating and making way for others, who put a freeman's interpretation on your noble Constitution, and do not befoul it with this intense and burning shame.

He is now establishing in Louisiana—as a pattern for future reconstructions, I suppose—another doctrine, still more deadly to your prospects. My hopes in your President did not finally give way, until I read the statement of Mr. Roudanez, which you heard, that the President kindly told them he could not redress their wrongs on moral grounds, but, if at all, only as a military necessity. Horrible indeed is the augury for your future, when your Chief Magistrate dares not indulge the moralities of his heart, through conscientious tremors at the guilt of violating the wicked laws of conquered rebels! Is he not practically invoking a new insurrection, which shall display in glaring colors the "military necessity," now, alas! hidden from his eyes? I confess that your cheerful and highly satisfied speech in reply filled me with melancholy. With false immoral principles as the basis of your reconstructions, nothing is safe: all that is apparently won may be lost in a single week. The new-born freedom guaranteed to Louisiana by one-tenth part of the State acting for the whole, is surely not so strong as was the Constitution of Washington and Franklin. Your new parchment freedoms are worthless, if white men are to carry arms, and colored men are to be disarmed; as they infallibly will be, under your new régime. In all history, I never read of an insurrection so causeless and so wicked as that of your Southern rebels; and in all history I know not where to find so senseless an infatuation as that of putting power into the hands of your disloyal conquered enemies, and casting your loyal friends under their feet. It is a combination of baseness and folly which demands of you, as a patriarch of freedom, as a historical name, and a real power in America, to prophesy, and even rave, and cry Woe! Woe! against your nation. Your enemies here gloat over it, knowing that it ensures your ruin; your friends almost universally hush the matter up, so that no details can be learned from them. Such a policy, if it is to receive sanction from Congress, and become typical, positively ensures disaffection of the Southern holders of power, and exhaustion of the North. And if New Orleans, or Mobile, or Charleston revolt again after being conquered, be sure that your enemies in the English and French cabinets will know that *their hour is come.* The revolted parts will be occupied by English and French fleets before we hear of any such scheme. Your Free States, after the prodigious strain of this war, will collapse into comparative apathy. We shall be too much disgusted with your folly to have any pity at your falling in pieces.

Until recently I have looked on your war with serene satisfaction as a sublime sacrifice for a magnificent future, glorious to you, beneficent to our millions. I have indulged in glowing anticipations, in which I seemed to friends but a wild dreamer. Since I have learned that your President has sanctioned Gen. Banks's ordinances, I begin to fear that I have indeed been a dreamer, and that your enemies here are substantially correct; one of whom said to me, three years ago: "The North hates slavery; but it hates colored men still more; and it will rather break up the Union, than endure to admit them into real equality." A time of war and revolution decides the great principles on which future weal or woe depends. New moral principles are needed, not slave-owners' base notions, or you are lost. A purer morality *must be enunciated by your Chief Magistrate, and sternly applied,* before you can purge your civil and military administration of virtual traitors. Every one in Europe who has any political thought knows that your Union can have no future, unless your stupid and base legislating about the color of a man's skin be now, once for all, extirpated and renounced. In a great revolution, you must strike while the iron is hot, and strike hard; caring entirely for principles, and not at all for persons. If you delay but a little more; if you let the next Presidential election pass, without sternly enforcing on the candidates a total abandonment of your cardinal and ruinous national insanity—prejudice against color; your national future may be lost forever.

I am, dear sir,

Yours with high respect and esteem,

FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

### MR. GARRISON TO PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

DEAR SIR: For your letter of the 7th ult., at once so kindly and so frankly expressed, I beg you to accept my heartfelt thanks; for, believing that you "have no other objects than those sacred interests, Truth and Right," and knowing how zealously you have hitherto espoused the cause of the American government, as upheld by President Lincoln against the Confederate treason of the South, whatever you may write concerning the terrible trial through which this republic is passing will challenge and deserve my profoundest consideration. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend"; and that you are a friend to America and its free institutions, and, consequently, an enemy to the rebellion which, for the horrible purpose of forming a slaveholding empire on this continent, is now filling our land with devastation and blood, you have unmistakably proved by your noble testimonies and acts ever since the war began.

The tone of your letter is to me, however, a matter of surprise; so unlike, indeed, anything I have seen from your pen or read from your lips, that I am persuaded it was not spontaneously written, but owes its birth to the promptings of certain ill-balanced, erratic American minds on your side of the Atlantic, whose pretensions to superior vigilance and fidelity in regard to the rights of our colored population, and whose morbid representations respecting President Lincoln and his Administration, have evidently affected your imagination and controlled your judgment. Mr. Conway's jaundiced views are so literally expressed in your letter, that I shall not do him or you any injustice in attributing its origin to him. And here let me say, that you will not find him a safe counsellor, or a reliable witness on public issues. Impulsive, eccentric, reckless, highly imaginative, and ambitious at this time for "radical" distinction, his flaming zeal is not always according to knowledge; and his vision is too apt to "magnify mole-hills into mountains," and to "give to an inch the importance of a mile," according to his mood of mind. His extraordinary and unwarrantable correspondence with Mr. Mason, wherein he falsely assumed to be duly authorized by "the leading Abolitionists of America" to negotiate for the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy, provided it would in some way abolish slavery (the sole cause of its inception and object of its existence!), should make our English friends cautious in giving credence to his representations concerning men and things in America, and admonish him that he is not specially competent to call in question the anti-slavery integrity of those whose lives have been devoted to the liberation of the fettered millions on our slavery-cursed soil. However fervent his zeal or praiseworthy his object, the course he is pursuing is well-calculated to damage the American government abroad, and to help faction and sedition at home.

But whether correct in my surmises or not concerning the paternity of your letter, I am sorry to see your name appended to it.

Before proceeding to notice its complainings, let me say that I am neither the partisan nor eulogist of President Lincoln, in a political sense. Since his inauguration, I have seen occasion sharply to animadvert upon his course, as well as occasion to praise him. At all times I have endeavored to judge him fairly, according to the possibilities of his situation, and the necessities of the country. In no instance, however, have I censured him for not acting upon the highest abstract principles of justice and humanity, and disregarding his constitutional obligations. His freedom to follow his convictions of duty as an individual is one thing—as the President of the United States, it is limited by the functions of his office; for the people do not elect a President to play the part of reformer or philanthropist, nor to enforce upon the nation his own peculiar ethical or humanitary ideas, without regard to his oath or their will. His primary and all-comprehensive duty is to maintain the Union and execute the Constitution, in good faith, according to the best of his ability, without reference to the views of any clique or party in the land, and for the general welfare. And herein lies the injustice of your criticism upon him. You seem to regard him as occupying a position and wielding powers virtually autocratic; so that he may do just as he pleases—yea, just as though there were no people to consult, no popular sentiment to ascertain, no legal restrictions to bind. In a strain of unmerited sarcasm you say:

> "With your President it is not the treason of the rebels, but your 'military necessity'—that is, present and galling danger—which *alone* makes his conscience easy in a deed so rash and desperate as that of giving to his innocent, injured, loyal fellow-citizens [meaning the slaves] their elementary, natural rights."

Again you say:

"Horrible indeed is the augury for your future, when your Chief Magistrate dares not *indulge the moralities of his heart,* through conscientious tremors at the guilt of violating the wicked laws of conquered rebels!"

Finally, in reference to the sneering remark of "an eminent person" upon the Emancipation proclamation of January 1, 1863, that it was an act of "villainous hypocrisy, for the President refused to set free those whom he could, while pretending to set free those whom he could not," you say that you are "now pierced in the heart to discover, that, however envenomed in the phrase, *it was no slander at all, but a terrible truth*"!

This impeachment is of the gravest character. It implies that President Lincoln is a base dissembler, reckless of his moral duties, but anxiously concerned not to incur "the guilt of violating the wicked laws of conquered rebels," and desirous rather to perpetuate than to abolish slavery. I am compelled to say that I regard it as utterly slanderous.

The President was similarly denounced for saying in his letter to Horace Greeley, dated August 22, 1863:

> "My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some, and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause. . . . I have here stated my purpose *according to my views of official duty;* and I INTEND NO MODIFICATION OF MY OFT-REPEATED PERSONAL WISH THAT ALL MEN EVERYWHERE COULD BE FREE."

Now, in similar circumstances, this is precisely what every President, from George Washington to Abraham Lincoln, if true to the trust committed to his hands, would have been bound to say and do. "According to my views of OFFICIAL DUTY"! This is the whole question in a sentence. It is not the evidence of a callous heart or a pro-slavery disposition, but indicates the man of integrity, anxious to know and to do his duty in a time of national calamity, and in the midst of unparalleled official trials and perils. It shows an inflexible determination to maintain the government, if possible, in fulfilment of his oath of office, and in accordance with the powers (and only the powers) constitutionally within his grasp. Herein he deserves credit, and not reproach. Before the rebellion, he had no right to break the fetter of a single slave in any of the slave States. After the rebellion, his right to do so was coextensive with the nature and object of the rebellion, under the War Power, and according to "military necessity."

It is my firm conviction that no man has occupied the chair of the Chief-Magistracy in America, who has more assiduously or more honestly endeavored to discharge all its duties with a single eye to the welfare of the country, than Mr. Lincoln. And his recent unanimous nomination for reëlection by the National Loyal Convention at Baltimore (preceded by an equally unanimous nomination by all the loyal States in their legislative or conventional character), after every effort of his bitter enemies, and of well-meaning but short-sighted friends of the slave, to cause his ejectment, is a splendid tribute of confidence in his honesty, patriotism and ability, and a sufficient answer to all the damaging accusations brought against him, whether by the Copperheads on the one hand, or those who are so acting, under a mistaken idea of duty, as to strengthen and encourage the Copperhead movement.

To those who have struggled so long for the total abolition of slavery, and whose desires for the speedy realization of all their aims and aspirations have naturally been of the most ardent character, Mr. Lincoln has seemed exceedingly slow in all his emancipatory measures. For this he has been severely chided, in *The Liberator* and out of it; and, for a time, a pro-slavery purpose was attributed to him, which I am now satisfied was not his animating spirit. It was only a proof of the great circumspection which controlled his acts with reference to the formidable rebellion at the South, and the fearfully divided state of public sentiment at the North, especially on the slavery question. Ever since his inauguration, the country has been violently rent asunder—the Northern soil has been hot with sympathetic sedition—and the possibility of preserving the supremacy of the government and restoring the union of the States is still an open question. Yet what long strides he has taken in the right direction, and never a backward step! What grand and far-reaching anti-slavery measures have been consummated under his Administration! How near he has brought us—if the government succeed in asserting its rightful supremacy over the rebellious States—to that glad day of jubilee, when not a slave shall be found in all our broad domains to clank his fetters, nor a tyrant to wield his gory lash!

In this connection, let me adduce the testimony of Frederick Douglass as to his impression concerning President Lincoln, obtained from a personal interview with him at the White House, and related in a speech delivered last December, in Philadelphia, at the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society—to wit:

> "Now, you will want to know how I was impressed by him. He impressed me as being just what every one of you has been in the habit of calling him—an honest man (applause). I never met with a man, who, on the first blush, impressed me more entirely with his sincerity, with his devotion to his country, and with his determination to save it at all hazards (applause). He told me (I think he did me more honor than I deserve) that I had made a little speech, somewhere in New York, and it had got into the papers, and among the things I had said was this: That if I were called upon to state what I regarded as the most sad and most disheartening feature in our present political and military situation, it would not be the various disasters experienced by our armies and our navies, on flood and field, but it would be the tardy, hesitating, vacillating policy of the President of the United States; and the President said to me, 'Mr. Douglass, I have been charged with being tardy and the like'; and he went on, and partly admitted that he might seem slow; but he said, 'I am charged with vacillating; but, Mr. Douglass, I do not think that charge can be sustained; *I think it cannot be shown that when I have once taken a position, I have ever retreated from it*' (applause). That I regard as the most significant point in what he said during our interview. I told him that he had been somewhat slow in proclaiming equal protection to our colored soldiers and prisoners; and he said that the country needed talking up to that point. He hesitated in regard to it, *when he felt that the country was not ready for it.* He knew that the colored man throughout this country was a despised man, a hated man, and that if he at first came out with such a proclamation, *all the hatred which is poured on the head of the negro race would be visited on his Administration.* He said that *there was preparatory work needed,* and that that preparatory work had now been done. And he said, 'Remember this, Mr. Douglass; remember that Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson and Fort Wagner are recent events; and that these were necessary to prepare the way for this very proclamation of mine.' *I thought it was reasonable,* and came to the conclusion, that while Abraham Lincoln will go down to posterity not as Abraham the Great, or as Abraham the Wise, or as Abraham the Eloquent, although he is all three, wise, great and eloquent, he will go down to posterity, if the country is saved, as Honest Abraham (applause); and going down thus, his name may be written anywhere in this wide world of ours side by side with that of Washington, without disparaging the latter (renewed applause)."

What could be more ingenuous, or evince a more thoughtful state of mind, on the part of the President, than this frank interchange of views? How clearly it shows his anxiety to do all that he felt could be justifiably and safely done, in the volcanic state of the country, toward the extinction of slavery and the elevation of the colored race! It was neither cowardice nor corruption that led him to pause, hesitate, and carefully weigh the consequences of an untried experiment; it was not that he waited to be "bullied" into concessions to the cause of impartial freedom; nor was it because he was lacking in the feelings of humanity. But when "the elements are melting with fervent heat," and "the earth is moved out of its place"—when to transcend public sentiment so far as to outrage and defy it, is to imperil the existence of the government itself—may not something be charitably allowed for anxious doubt, cautious procedure, and deliberate action? What if the President might have gone faster and farther in grappling with the rebellion and its cause? I, for one, thought he could; he thought otherwise; and it was for him to follow his own convictions, not mine. I may have been mistaken; he may have been more intelligent and accurate as to his possibilities. At the worst, it was wiser to be slow and sure, than premature and rash, in working up to a desirable point. As early as the Spring of 1862—my friend Mr. Phillips being witness—

> "The President said to a leading Republican of New York—'Why don't you hold meetings' (it was two days before that glorious Convention in New York which Carl Schurz made immortal by his great speech)—'Why don't you hold meetings, and *let me feel the mind of the nation?*' 'Sir,' was the reply, 'we are to hold them; we hold one to morrow.' '*Hold them often; hold many of them; hold as many as possible. You cannot create more anti-slavery feeling than we shall need before we get through this war*' (applause). In other words, the President holds out his hands to the people, and says, 'Am I right?' 'How far may I go?' Answer him. Tell him the ice is thick thus far, and will be thicker an arrow's flight ahead. Tell him that if his message to the Border States leads you to say Amen, a message to the Gulf States that says Liberty will have a tenfold Amen (loud applause). In one sense, *we demand too much of the government—of the Senate and the Cabinet.* They are the only portions of the government that have definite ideas, but *they are nothing; the masses are everything.* Struggling up to light on all sides are indications of the popular sentiment. *There should be official, grave indications. Leading men, legislative bodies, official corporations,* should speak the will of the North, if it really exist, on this question, *so that the government may feel able to trust and lean on a well assured public purpose.*"—*Speech of Mr. Phillips at the Tremont Temple, April,* 1862.

Now this was well said and well-considered, both by Mr. Phillips and Mr. Lincoln. I see nothing that has since transpired to justify the withdrawal of respect and confidence from the latter by the former, or by any other advocate of the Anti-Slavery cause; on the contrary, the President has been steadily advancing toward the goal of liberty, and perhaps quite as fast as the altered state of the Northern mind would allow him, if not beyond all that could have been reasonably expected of him. For, remember, at that time scarcely one of the numerous measures to which he has given his sanction had been executed, and which will assuredly secure for himself lasting historic renown, and cover his Administration with historic glory.

Let us see, then, what has been done. But, first let me call to your remembrance the spalling circumstances in which President Lincoln succeeded in getting to Washington, to be duly inaugurated as President—the Capital swarming with traitors and assassins—an empty treasury—no army, no navy—the Northern house almost equally divided against itself, and to this hour so divided by sympathy for the Southern rebels as to cause serious apprehension of disastrous outbreaks and bloody conspiracies—the real abolition strength of the country numerically insignificant, and, politically speaking, of no importance—prejudice against the negro strong and universal—a general disposition, for a long period subsequently, to avoid the issue with slavery, and to endeavor to restore "the Union as it was," and even worse than it was, with all its pro-slavery compromises—and a sorcery power exerted over the popular mind in regard to constitutional obligations and historical precedents. This was all the moral and political capital Mr. Lincoln had to trade upon for the benefit of the despised and oppressed colored people; yet he has done a vast and truly magnificent business.

Witness the emancipation of more than three millions of slaves by the President's proclamation of January 1, 1863—a virtual death-blow to the whole slave system! Witness, as a necessary sequence, emancipation in Missouri, Western Virginia, Maryland, the District of Columbia! Witness the entire abolition of slavery in Louisiana and Arkansas! Witness its virtual abolition in Tennessee—leaving only Kentucky to be speedily delivered by the enrollment of her able-bodied slaves as soldiers and freemen, and the consequent liberation of their families! Witness the treaty with Great Britain for the effectual suppression of the foreign slave trade! Witness the consecration of all the vast Territories of the Union to free men, free labor, free institutions! Witness the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia—an act which alone, at any time before the rebellion, would have caused a secession of the Southern States! Witness the abolition of all Fugitive Slave bills, and the consequent termination of all slave-hunting in the country under governmental sanction—a measure of such signal mercy and beneficence, and so directly striking down the great protective bulwark of the slave system, that its adoption alone would justify popular celebrations and joyful illuminations throughout the country! Witness the abolition of the accursed inter-State slave trade—a trade more revolting and hideous in some of its features than even the foreign! Witness one hundred and thirty thousand colored soldiers, battling against those who would perpetuate their enslavement! Witness the admission of negroes to equal rights in the United States Courts, as parties to suits and as witnesses, even before Judge Taney! Witness, finally, the loyal sentiment of the country pledged to the amendment of the Constitution, forever prohibiting slavery in the land! Nor is this all that has been done.

Yours, with the highest esteem,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

## TESTIMONIES OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

[Adopted at the Twelfth Yearly Meeting, held at Longwood, Chester Co., Pa., June 2, 3 and 4.]

### I.—SLAVERY AND THE REBELLION.

THIS Society would renew its testimony, at this time, concerning the wide-spread and bloody rebellion which yet remains to be suppressed:

That it is a rebellion, not on the part of the OPPRESSED, to redress long-endured wrong and to vindicate their inalienable rights, but by a haughty and merciless SLAVE OLIGARCHY, to perpetuate their terrible domination over the hapless victims of their slave-holding cupidity, to strike a deadly blow at the cause of freedom throughout the world, and to substitute for the civilization of the nineteenth century the barbarism of the darkest ages:

That not one of the numerous allegations of these conspirators against the government of the United States and the people of the North is founded in truth; but, on the contrary, they are as malicious in spirit as they are diabolical in design; so that the so-called Confederate States stand revealed to the world as utterly without excuse on any principles of revolution or resistance recognized by mankind:

That, as the tree is known by its fruits, so the rebellion shows its true character by the shocking perfidies and savage atrocities committed under its flag:

That, therefore, all the pulsations of the human heart for liberty, justice, humanity, and the triumph of the right, must beat strongly in opposition to this unhallowed attempt to deny to the people the right of self-government, to deprive them of the right to choose their own rulers as against hereditary succession and tyrannical usurpation, and to eternize slavery:

That those at the North, who, under the mask of loyalty, are endeavoring to baffle the efforts of the government to suppress the rebellion, who are openly giving their sympathy and covertly their aid to the rebels, and who are busily engaged in blackening the character of President Lincoln and breaking down his administration for the same evil purpose, are deserving of even heavier condemnation than those at the South who glory in their treason, and boldly subject themselves to its penalty:

That, while this Society does not see anything in this fearful struggle to invalidate its well-known peace principles—for, had these been truly accepted and faithfully acted upon by the nation from the beginning, there could be neither slavery nor a rebellious war growing out of it—yet it believes the government, as constitutionally organized and on its own plane of action, not only justified in putting forth its full power for the speedy suppression of this wicked revolt, but in so doing is acting in accordance with the highest convictions of duty in the minds of the people, and faithfully discharging the momentous trusts committed to its hands:

That recreancy to cherished convictions of right, cowardice in the hour of danger, an iniquitous compromising spirit, or a selfish regard for personal safety and interests, cannot promote peace; and a people who, believing it their right and duty to defend their liberties with the sword when cloven down by the hand of tyranny, shrink from meeting the issue through base paltroonery, instead of subserving the cause of peace by such non-resistance, are directly stimulating the war-spirit, and providing for a more bloody tragedy in the future:

That it behooves the whole nation solemnly to remember, that the awful judgments to which it is now subjected are the results of its oppression of an abhorred and hapless race:—"Ye have not proclaimed liberty every man to his neighbor, and every man to his brother; therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine":—hence, it ought to repent in sackcloth and ashes, and to put away its great iniquity by causing liberty to be proclaimed "throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof":

That in this great extremity of the nation's peril and suffering, every one should be prompt to stand in his lot, and to bear his share of the public burden; and, whether men can conscientiously rally under the national flag, armed and equipped to uphold the government, or whether they are scrupulous non-resistants, there is scope for the most active efforts on the part of all, and for the universal coöperation of all loyal souls in suppressing the rebellion, and extending liberty and peace throughout the land:

That this Society recognizes the right and the duty of the government, under the Constitution, to order a draft where volunteering is inadequate; and, admitting the difficulty of its providing for exceptional cases of conscience without danger of abuse, nevertheless respectfully submits to the government, in order to avoid unnecessary severity of treatment on its part, and undeserved suffering on the part of innocent individuals, the propriety of assigning to drafted non-resistants or conscientious peace men the duty of attending upon the sick or dying upon the battle-field, or in the hospitals, or performing some other service equally unobjectionable to their conscience and necessary to the State:

That, while participating in the benefits of the government, and sympathizing in its efforts to put down the rebellion and its cause, those who are disarmed by principle should show their readiness to incur any risk or make any sacrifice, where they can consistently do so, to alleviate the horrors of the strife, and ensure the triumph of free institutions over chattel despotism.

### II.—PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

Among our other testimonies, we desire to add our solemn protest, not only against the system of human slavery, so long existing in the Southern States, but against the spirit of caste which that system has widely engendered throughout the North—making the former victims of bondage, such as are now happily free from the yoke, still the subjects of a prevailing prejudice that works them injury, and defeats their elevation. We declare that this prejudice is unnatural, undemocratic, and unchristian; that the statutes which are founded upon it in many of the free States are unworthy of the general free spirit of American laws, and ought to be immediately repealed; and that the Negro is entitled to the same political rights, the same impartial equality before the law, with all other classes of his fellow-countrymen. As a great step toward the attainment of this righteous end, this Society hails with satisfaction the decision of Attorney-General Bates, that the negro is rightfully recognized as a citizen of the United States; and we shall labor that the time may speedily come when all the rights, privileges, and high dignities of such citizenship shall no longer be unjustly denied, but freely offered to a class of our countrymen who, having long suffered from a government under whose laws they had been oppressed, have shown an example of magnanimity unequalled in history, by exposing their lives for the defence of that government in its hour of peril.

### III.—MEMORIALS TO CONGRESS.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:*

The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in session at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., Sixth month, 1864, respectfully but earnestly entreats you to pass a law abolishing slavery in every part of the United States. In time of peace we could not conscientiously ask you to enact such a law; but slavery being now in open revolt against the government, we hold that, under the powers incident to a bloody struggle for the national life, you have a clear constitutional right to destroy it, root and branch, as a nucleus of treason and rebellion; and that, as the system is at once a sin against God and a crime against man, you are under the most solemn moral obligation to exercise the power providentially placed in your hands for its extermination.

*To the House of Representatives of the United States:*

The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in session at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., Sixth month, 1864, respectfully but earnestly entreats you promptly to concur in the resolution of the Senate, submitting to the several States an amendment to the Constitution, forever prohibiting slavery, and conferring upon Congress the power to provide by legislation for the enforcement of such provision.

### IV.—GEORGE THOMPSON.

In view of the timely and valuable labors of our distinguished friend George Thompson, in giving to the people of Great Britain a right view of the pending civil war in the United States, exposing the machinations of the emissaries of the Southern Confederacy in foreign lands, and rendering to the cause of the North (according to the testimony of John Bright) a more signal service than any other man in Europe; this meeting desires to add its voice to the many congratulations with which that brave and able champion of freedom has been welcomed to our shores, and to express the hope that, as he was among the earliest advocates of the abolition of slavery in this country thirty years ago, he may live to see the work to which he has devoted his life completed—every chain broken, and every slave set free.

### V.—EVILS OF THE WAR.

As war, however great or beneficent its object, never fails to produce many serious evils, just in proportion to its magnitude and duration; so as the present sanguinary conflict in our land is one of almost unparalleled extent, from it we have every reason to believe will follow a vast augmentation of intemperance, profanity, licentiousness, and other vices, thereby imperilling public virtue and retarding human advancement; consequently, it behooves the friends of temperance, purity, and good morals proportionably to exert themselves to meet this influx of crime and misery by untiring vigilance, the most faithful testimonies, and the most potent instrumentalities.

### VI.—THE CAUSE OF WOMAN.

On no anniversary of this association could we properly omit our testimony against all those laws, regulations and usages, whereby woman in all lands stands proscribed and depressed on account of her sex; or to claim for her the enjoyment of those rights and the possession of those priviliges to which she is entitled as a human being, whose life, liberty and welfare are involved in the destiny of society and the structure of government. It is not for man to assume her responsibilities, to exclude her from any position she is qualified to fill, to deny her any employment she can successfully pursue. To her, as freely as to him, should be opened every industrial avenue, granted every political and religious right, and made available every official station; leaving for individual endowment, culture, fitness to determine the relative avocation or eminence which each may follow or attain.

### VII.—ACCEPTABLE WORSHIP.

Resolved, That it is the imperative duty of every man and woman to avail themselves of every opportunity to do good to their fellow-man; and that administering to the physical wants of the sick or wounded, pouring consolation and encouragement into the sorrow-stricken heart, and endeavoring to lift to a higher level the low and degraded, the poor and the outcast, the rejected and despised of God's children, is the most acceptable worship we can render to the Great Father of us all, and without which all other forms are as "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal."

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A NOTORIOUS REBEL.—The correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*, writing from the headquarters of the army of the Potomac, says:

The notorious Edmund Ruffin, Sr., who had the disgrace to boast that he fired the first gun on Fort Sumter, is a native of this County, and is noted as being one of the most vile and degenerate of men. He has several times been in the jail of Prince George County; and as a landlord, was one of the most cruel and exacting wretches that could well live. Persons here who know him well say that he was frequently arrested for cruelly beating his wife, and on one occasion he was taken prisoner to Petersburg for having flayed alive two of his negro women, whom he had stripped naked, and tied up by the thumbs, while he administered the blows with his own hand. Let the world know, therefore, that the man who volunteered to fire the first gun upon the flag of the United States was Edwin Ruffin, Sr., a jail-bird and wife-beater, born in Prince George County, Virginia. He is a *fêted* man in the South at the present time, and honored among the traitors, who would spurn him for his former conduct were it not lightened by the fact that his "sins, which were as scarlet, have become like wool," because he fired upon the flag of his country. Noble deed! Oh, most worthy man, we hail thee as a fit representative of the crimes which thou art so ambitious to establish; but in all thy feasting, beware of the handwriting on the wall!

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ONLY A NIGGER.—Lieut. Hunt of Utica (U. S. regular artillery) recently fell overboard from a tug in the James River, and was drowned. His body not being recovered by the tug, some relatives went down and dragged the river for it in vain, being afforded every facility by our naval officers. Finally, they inquired along the river bank, and found two negroes, who told them of another negro who had buried the body of a Federal officer which he found on the river bank. Proceeding to that negro's hut, they met his wife, who showed them the clothing, spurs, etc., of the buried officer, which they readily recognized as Lieut. Hunt's. She also produced and gave them $57 in cash with his wallet, which her husband had taken before burying the body, decently shrouded in coarse cloth, in the best coffin he was able to make. In a little while the husband returned, and before aiding them to exhume the remains, produced $300 more, with certain important papers, which he had also taken from the body, but which he had carefully concealed even from his wife, because (he said) the guerillas often came there, and they might frighten her into giving up to them documents and money which they ought not to have. All these were brought away with the body. Of course, the negro only proved shrewd, thoughtful, and strictly honest; but there have been instances of white men doing considerably worse.—*Tribune.*

## COLORPHOBIA IN ST. LOUIS.

[Some weeks since we published an account of the excitement created in the St. Louis Sanitary Fair by the appearance at the Refreshment table of two colored gentlemen from Brooklyn. It was the Rev. Dr. Nelson of St. Louis (formerly of Auburn, N. Y.,) who introduced the gentlemen referred to and invited them to take some refreshment in the café. In a letter to the New York *Evangelist* he gives the following account of the affair.]

AN Association of colored people in Brooklyn were gracefully represented here by Rev. Mr. Gloucester and Prof. Day of that city, bringing liberal and valuable donations from that Association. They were courteously welcomed by the officers of the Fair, and bore themselves with the dignity and propriety of cultivated gentlemen. Our Missouri *Republican* and St. Louis *Union*, and your *Freeman's Journal* have published distorted and exaggerated accounts of what they seek to dignify with the title of "An Emeute at the Fair." This was a ridiculous "flurry" among some of the ladies in attendance in the Café Laclede, when the Chairman of the Freedmen and Refugees' Department, and the Secretary of the Sanitary Commission sat down at one of the tables for refreshments with Messrs. Gloucester and Day, regarding this as a suitable courtesy to gentlemen who had been officially recognized as representatives of a Brooklyn Association, liberally and efficiently coöperating with us. The lady who presided with eminent dignity over the Café happened to be absent at the time, and there was no one in her place capable of immediately perceiving the folly of unladylike exhibitions of horror at sight of dark-complexioned gentlemen in such circumstances. Such exhibitions were accordingly made by a large number of ladies, and aggravated by some persons of the male sex.

There was no such violence as might be inferred from the published accounts alluded to, nor did the insulted gentlemen hasten out of the room, as represented. They sat at the table as long as they chose, deliberately ate what was brought to them by one true lady, paid their bill, and leisurely withdrew. The attempt to make them odious has been a signal failure. The assailing journals have made themselves ridiculous; other journals (*The Democrat* and *Evening News*) at once published truthful representations, and very soon the candid portion of our people were disabused of the erroneous impression which some of them at first received. Harshly to censure, or coarsely to stigmatize so simple and natural a courtesy to persons so well accredited, of so gentlemanly manners, and to whom our cause was so much indebted, and whose coöperation we had officially accepted, is not now regarded as the best proof of "Anglo-Saxon superiority" or of "roundabout common sense."

As you published *The Republican's* account, it may be due to a gentleman named in it to correct one of its false statements. Mr. Gloucester and Mr. Day were introduced to me by Mr. Fox himself, Chairman of the Finance Committee, and not by a "third party," as stated by *The Republican.* Mr. Fox also presented them with complimentary season tickets, with his own hand, and he did both these actions as politely as he or any other gentleman could do any action—not with the sneaking evasion with which *The Republican* charges him.

## THE "PATRIARCHAL" SYSTEM.

### "MISCEGENATION" IN PERFECTION.

From a letter written by a soldier in the 140th Pennsylvania Vols.

NEAR RICHMOND, Va., June 18, 1864.

FOUR miles north of the Pamunkey River we were met by a delegation of Uncle Tom's hardy black fellows, who wanted to emigrate to the Yankee land of promise. They said they represented 150 slaves, the property of Mr. Anderson Scott, who owned these cultivated fields for miles. They wanted to get their children carried in our transportation wagons to White House landing, from which place they had been assured Uncle Sam would take them North. Our wagons being full we could accommodate but few. However, anything was preferable to being a slave; so they determined to come along any way. About a mile further, we came to the mansion of this rich slave-lord, Mr. Scott. * * * *

Around the door were three women and about half a dozen children, from the wee baby to the young girl of fifteen or sixteen. Two of the women were about a shade lighter than the quadroon, while all the children were white. The third woman was apparently pure white; her eyes were blue, her hair was brown and straight; her features were entirely American—nothing to denote a particle of negro blood. In her arms she had a beautiful little boy, about four years old, with fair hair and blue eyes. This woman was crying bitterly when we rode up. Thinking that she was a member of the family, we tried to console her by assuring her that Yankees made war upon men and not upon women. Can you imagine how shocked we were when we were told that this white woman and child were slaves. Lieut. Wren, Quartermaster of the 61st New York, was so excited that he bolted into the house, and his sword rattled and his spurs jingled with his impetuosity as he strode along the halls in search of the old scoundrel Scott.

I asked one of the women why she did not bundle up and come along, now that she had a chance, with the rest. She said she had an idiotic son in the house who was sick, and they could not go without him. I asked this woman if she was the daughter of the owner of the plantation. She said she was! We went into the hut, and upon a clean bed there sat this poor idiot boy, white as I am, with brown hair. About this time Mr. Scott came in, the lord and owner of all these *white* people, whiter than himself. He is an old, shrivelled-up, nigger-faced, crooked-backed little specimen of Southern chivalry—aristocratic as a king, and "Virginian born by Gawd." I asked the mother of this boy if Mr. Scott was his father. You should have seen her blush as she answered "Yes." The incestuous old beast! *This idiot son—the child of his own daughter—father and grandfather to his own children!*

Now, send down your pro-slavery partisans and Copperheads of the North to look upon this. Talk to me of the divinity of slavery! * * * * Do you know how these skin aristocrats rave over the *new* theory of *miscegenation* or the mixture of the races. Here we have a practical illustration of their duplicity and inconsistency in the very worst form of miscegenation—incestuous amalgamation.

All the rest of the old man's slaves (floating capital) passed by at this time with their traps and papooses, shouting on the road to glory and to freedom, "Come along! Come along! We're gwine to hab our freedom!" This sight so excited these poor slaves, who, knowing their inability to go along without the boy, began to cry in the most distressing manner, and there in the midst of them stood this old scoundrel, the author of all this misery. I believe I would have been justified in breaking his neck.

We advised these poor people to stay, as they were perfectly safe, being inside our lines, and in case we fell back we would manage to take them with us; and, in the meantime, if the old man ill-treated them we would come back and chastise him. So we went away and encamped that night on the banks of the sluggish and malarious Pamunkey.

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DON'T CROAK!—Whatever else you do, or don't do, don't croak. Croaking isn't the natural utterance of human voices. Let the bull-frogs and the copperheads have a monopoly of it. Be sure you're no true patriot if you croak; true patriots never croak, whatever happens.

If you want Jeff. Davis & Co. to prosper and swallow the North, but are afraid openly to help him, croak—that will help him indirectly a little. If you want the Union armies to be defeated, and the Union cause depressed, but don't dare to say so right out, croak—that will aid it a little. If you want Grant to fail to take Richmond, and to be whipped by Lee, but don't want to do any fighting on either side, croak—that will be the most efficient aid you can properly afford, with reasonable safety to your whole skin. Say, solemnly, with a long face, that gold will soon be 300; advise people to buy a barrel of sugar before the

price goes up clear out of sight; sniffle over the dreadful times which are just ahead for the poor; turn up your eyes with holy horror at greenbacks, and just intimate that you expect to live to see them sold by the bushel for the price of paper rags! In short, croak, *croak*, CROAK!

But, if you are a true patriot; if you believe in God; if you want the country to succeed in putting down the rebellion; if you mean to do your part in aiding it toward that glorious consummation—don't croak!
—*Boston Congregationalist.*


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1864.


## *THE GOOD DEEDS OF CONGRESS.*

THE rebel raid being over, as we said last week it would be, with no greater injury to the country than the carrying off of an immense booty and the damage to our National character and *prestige* consequent on the government permitting such a thing to be possible, we can now direct our attention to pleasanter subjects of contemplation. Before leaving this subject, however, we must join our voice to the general expression of censure on the military authorities of the nation for not being better prepared to prevent, or at least to punish, this audacious foray. With the accurate knowledge of the rebel plans which it is claimed that the government possessed through the sagacity and good information of Gen. Grant, it would seem as if this handful of cattle-lifters might have been hindered from making their escape, if they could not be prevented from making their inroad. For the losses of Maryland from plunder and of Pennsylvania from the flight of her farmers at a critical moment of their crops, we do not sorrow as those without hope. If these two States chose to remain without any military organization sufficient to repulse a sudden invasion like this, and that after two sufficient warnings, we think that they have but suffered the just consequences of their neglect. And we hope that this error will be so effectually amended that no Rob Roy shall be found among the rebels bold enough to risk an encounter with "the embattled farmers" rallying in defence of their granaries and their herds. Ohio, which has made this preparation, warned by past peril, has not been harried, and we venture to predict will not be as long as she is thus forearmed because forewarned. But this is more than we meant to say, though much less than enough.

We gladly turn from this disgraceful page of our military history to one of the brightest of our civil annals. We mean to that which shall record the action of Congress at the last session in purifying the National Statute Book of all taint and spot impressed upon it from time to time for seventy years and more by slavery. The trail of that serpent is no longer over it. It has been thoroughly cleansed away, and we trust that this is a sign that the serpent's head is soon to be bruised so that it shall surely die. Our readers will bear us witness that we have been incessant and persistent in our reminders and our demands as to what public duty and true patriotism demanded of Congress in this direction. We confess we had but little hope, after the very first of the session, that anything effectual would be done, and we are therefore the more satisfied with the ample measure of righteousness that has been meted out by Congress in its latter days. This is one of the cases in which we rejoice to confess that we were mistaken, and that our wishes were truer prophets than our fears. The Thirty-Eighth Congress has deserved well of its country, now and hereafter—we will hope forever—better than any that has gone before it. It has bettered all expectation and deserves all but an absolute and entire commendation. It improved so much upon the gratuitous injustice of the authorities towards the black troops and came so much nearer doing them perfect right than seemed at one time possible, that we think the black soldiers and their friends should be content to let it have till the short session to supply whatever is wanting to their just due. We are confident that the next Administration, be it what it may, will find no distinction remaining between brave men fighting for their country because of the color God has given them. And this whether it shall be one that shall look upon this justice as a stumbling-block removed out of its way, or one that shall regard it as foolishness and an offence.

The three main legislative acts which have shed this lustre on the closing days of the late session are the Repeal of all the Laws providing process for the recovery of fugitive slaves, the repeal of the acts regulating the coast-wise slave trade, and the entire prohibition of that traffic, and the admission of colored persons to the witness-box on equal terms with whites. Who would have imagined it possible that such legislation could ever be had, four little years ago? It would have been impossible if the way had not been cleared for it by the desperate hands of the slaveholders themselves. These acts are monuments to mark the onward progress of the great revolution in the midst of which we stand—a revolution begun to establish Slavery forever by the ruin of Liberty, but which, we believe, will never go backward, but will establish Liberty forever through the utter destruction of Slavery. These great measures of justice were not carried without opposition, and that, too, from quarters where it was least looked for. They were, all of them we think, proposed early in the session, though action upon them was not effected till near its close. When Mr. Sumner introduced his bill for repealing all the Fugitive Slave laws, it could not be carried in its entirety. The infamy of 1850 the Administration majority in the Senate were ready to wipe from the Statute Book. But it was thought that the law of 1793 should be left in force as a sop to the hell-hound which, though it had received a stunning blow, was not yet dead. And this compromise was carried by the aid of Republican votes, among them that of Mr. Doolittle of Wisconsin and of Mr. Sherman of Ohio, and, stranger yet, those of two Senators from New England, Messrs. Collamer of Vermont and Foster of Connecticut. When the bill came up from the House of Representatives for the same object, couched, we believe, in the very words of that of Mr. Sumner, the dissentients in the Senate seem to have thought better of the matter, and to have changed their votes, or to have evaded the decisive yeas and nays. Among the missing on that occasion were the four Senators we have just named. But the law passed, 27 to 12, and slaves must henceforth be hunted on private account, and without the assistance of the Nation. The function of the Curtises, Lorings, Ingrahams and Mortons is at an end, and, let us hope, forever. On the first vote on the abolition of the coast-wise slave trade, Mr. Sumner's motion was rejected, Mr. Collamer and Mr. Sherman voting *nay*. On the second vote, it passed, Mr. Sherman still voting *no*, and Mr. Collamer keeping out of the way. We believe that there were no Republican votes cast against Mr. Sumner's amendment restoring the right of testifying in the United States Courts to persons of color.

Mr. Sumner deserves the highest honor and the lasting gratitude of the country for the perseverance and skill which he has shown in carrying these measures through the Senate. In the House, the leading Republican members, Messrs. Ashley, Stevens, Julian, Dawes, Elliot, and others, not forgetting the ever-to-be-remembered Lovejoy, have been faithful to the trust the Nation reposed in them in urging and carrying through these measures, in the face of much stronger opposition and greater difficulties than they had to encounter in the Senate. And the large majorities by which the Abolition Amendment was passed by both Houses, though it failed of its constitutional two-thirds, should be accounted to this Congress for righteousness. We had not hoped so good an account could be made up of its doings as that which it has rendered to its constituents, to the nation and to the world. We care little whether these results were brought about by personal conviction on the part of all who helped produce them or by pressure of public sentiment from without. If the first, so much the better for the members; if the last, so much the better for the public. In either case, we have a Statute Book purged of the Fugitive Slave laws and of those regulating the coast-wise traffic in slaves. And the insult and the injury to the black man involved in the rejection of his testimony in the Courts of the nation in such States as refuse to admit it in their own Courts, is put an end to. Henceforth, the laws of slaveholding or pro-slavery States cannot expose him, defenceless, to whatever wrong may be wreaked on him unwitnessed by a white man. These are great events, constituting an era in American history, and the men who have been the instruments of bringing them to pass deserve ever to be named and remembered with honor. Such legislation could not have been had without a Civil War, and it would almost compensate for the sufferings of one. In the worst event that can happen, the accession to power of a party in sympathy with the rebellion and pledged to slavery, it will have, at least, to do all this dirty work afresh. It will not find all the legislation needful to restore slavery to its supremacy ready made to its hands. The machinery will have to be made over again and set to work anew. But such a party will not succeed in getting possession of the government. This very action foreshadows that of the people next November. This Congress has merely obeyed the pleasure of its constituency in what it has done, and we are well assured that no future one will ever undo its work. But then the people must not take this for granted, but must make it sure, next November.

## *A PROTEST.*

BOSTON, July 9th, 1864.

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

As a member of the Massachusetts and the American Anti-Slavery Societies, I wish to protest against the gross misrepresentation contained in your leader of today's issue. You say:

"They, therefore, assembled themselves together under the shade of groves and by the side of still waters to bear their testimony against the backslidings of their generation, and to utter their predictions of the better day to come. The aspect of affairs from their point of view did not look fair enough for the first years of the struggle which had grown out of the collision between their ideas and those of the devotees of slavery, to make them think it wise to discontinue their annual custom. This year, however, the American and Massachusetts Societies have been of the opinion that the condition and prospects of affairs, and the state of public sentiment as to slavery was so far changed for the better, that the separate celebrations might be profitably abandoned and all unite in whatever services in honor of the day that were instituted by the authorities of their own or of neighboring towns. They have ever longed for the day to come when they might issue forth from their isolation and join themselves to the general company of their fellow-citizens. That day seems now to have arrived. We hope, with trembling, that it may continue to the end without interruption.

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"The Abolitionists omit their Annual Celebration of the Fourth this year, because they trust that the rest of the nation have become worthy through suffering to celebrate it worthily. They are painfully sensible of the many shortcomings, blunders and crimes through which the government and the people have stumbled on to the point where both now stand. They are fully aware of the dangers of reactionary delays which may yet retard the day of perfect freedom. They will still maintain their independent attitude of impartial observation and fearless criticism. But they hope soon to be permitted, through the accomplishment of their work, to melt unobserved into the mass of their fellow-citizens and never again to make the Fourth of July an occasion of solemn protest against the crimes of the American people against that Universal Liberty of which it boasts of holding the palladium in the Declaration of Seven-six."

Immediately over this Fourth of July article, and in sad contrast with it, stands your motto, "Without *concealment*—without compromise." Will you tell us when the Abolitionists took the position you assign to them? Is it not true that the usual celebrations were omitted this year, not for the reason you give, but because the managers did not choose to risk the further platform discussion of questions which have recently marred the harmony of our meetings? It is very possible that many Abolitionists are ready to "join themselves to the general company of their fellow-citizens," but it is also very probable that many more are not ready to do this; if the vote on Mr. Pillsbury's resolution adopted by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at the last annual meeting is sufficient evidence, then a *majority* of the members of that Society will continue "to bear their testimony against the backslidings of their generation." This attempt not only to conceal the true motive that (whether wisely or not, I will not here discuss) led to the omission of this year's Fourth of July celebration, but to mislead your readers, and to misrepresent a large number of your constituents, by implying, if not positively asserting, great satisfaction on their part with the present aspect of affairs, this, I submit, is a fearful lowering of our standard, a descent from the high level of principle to the shameful shifts of *unprincipled* expediency, and if the Anti-Slavery Societies of this country must resort to such measures to preserve their organisations, then is their mission fulfilled, and the sooner they "melt *unobserved* into the mass of their fellow-citizens" the better for that larger society—Humanity. R. P. H.

WE think that our excellent correspondent does less than justice to the Anti-Slavery Committees, as we are sure that he does to ourselves, in his imputation of an unworthy motive to the votes dispensing with the Fourth of July meeting this year, and to our statement of the case. It was our honest belief that the meeting was omitted for the reasons that we stated, not remembering to have heard any other given by any member of the Committee. We happened not to be present at the Committee-meeting when the decision was made, but we have been told that there was little or no discussion on the subject, the matter being referred to a Committee with full powers, which decided against celebrating the day. The fact that Mr. Phillips could not be present we understand to have been a principal reason for the decision. Personally, we have been in favor of discontinuing the Fourth of July meeting for the past three years, and proposed doing so in 1861, on the ground that the necessity of a separate celebration was suspended at least, if not finally superseded, by the changed state of National affairs. If the Committee or sub-Committee was influenced by a fear of "risking further platform discussions" on mooted questions, we have seen no evidence of it. They certainly did not inspire our article on the subject, for which we are solely responsible. When we said, "*the Abolitionists* omit their Celebration," we meant, of course, the Committees to which they had committed their affairs. We did not mean to affirm absolute unanimity among all the members of the Society.

Had we understood that the omission of the Fourth of July Celebration was made on the ground suggested by our correspondent, we could have no reason for suppressing the fact. For we think it a very good reason to justify or to fortify the action of the Committee. We were in favor of dispensing with the First of August Celebration, one peculiarly our own and not common to the whole Nation like the Fourth, on grounds similar to those suggested by our Correspondent. Not that we feared "risking a platform discussion" of the merits of the different Presidential candidates, but because we did not think such a discussion timely and well-judged, considered purely from an anti-slavery point of view. We, certainly, have not been regarded by the admirers of Mr. Lincoln as leaning unduly to his side, and, as certainly, we should not wince under any criticism upon Gen. Fremont. Where there is a wide difference of opinion on points where no principle is involved, but merely the fitness of particular men to reduce to action the principle common to all Abolitionists, we think there is nothing wrong in waiving a discussion which can have no practical good effect. Other assemblies than Anti-Slavery meetings are the proper theatres for such debates. An Anti-Slavery meeting held at this time could not be anything but a political caucus, disputing about the merits and demerits of particular candidates for office. We do not think that such a spectacle would be either profitable to us presenting it, or edifying to the world without. In a few months the electioneering fever will have run its course, and the Abolitionists will need all the unity of feeling among themselves and all the respect of the public that they can command, for the work which will remain for them to do. It were unwise, we think, to risk injuring the one or the other by excited discussions on matters, not of Anti-Slavery principle, but of pure political expediency. This was the unanimous opinion of the Committee of the Massachusetts Society, consisting of persons representing every shade of opinion as to the Administration, and hence the omission of the Celebration of the First of August.

## *LETTER FROM DR. BROOKE.*

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

As my letter of June 21st neither expressed nor implied a suspicion that the Secretaries of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, or either of them, suppressed the missing resolutions, I have been content to wait till they were heard from before replying to your strictures upon it. I took for granted the document had been accidentally mislaid. But as nearly a month had elapsed without further allusion to the matter, and as I believed then and still continue to think that at an earlier day in our history neither the Editor of *The Liberator*, nor of THE STANDARD would have been satisfied to allow such an omission to pass without the recovery of the resolutions, or an explanation of why it was impossible to fill the hiatus, it was upon them I supposed partisan feeling had wrought an unhappy change. The expression which I used, "*suppressed* for partisan purposes," was therefore inaccurate, and may have led you into a misapprehension.

If it be a fault to believe no man infallible—to be perpetually jealous of any action which seems to threaten the subordination of the holy cause of liberty for all men to the interests of any political party—to desire to be willing to "rebuke" any man, however exalted his position, or fair his preceding record, who indicates a tendency to do this, I fear I may need forgiveness. It has been with great pain that I have thought I perceived such indications in the course pursued by our only two remaining distinctively anti-slavery papers.

In your second paragraph of comments you assume that "Dr. Brooke sees no danger of partisanship—at least none calling for his rebuke—in non-voting Abolitionists taking part in organising a new political party," etc. In this you mistake, as I have both seen the danger and felt called upon to express my disapprobation. But suppose I had not—has it become necessary in condemning a specific wrong that one must rebuke all wrong? Again, if the explicit expression of the office-seekers' Convention at Cleveland that they aim to "secure to all men absolute equality before the law" means nothing more than "a bait for anti-slavery votes," why should the less comprehensive resolutions of the officeholders' Convention at Baltimore be accepted as meaning all they promise, and more? My confidence in the one is no greater than in the other; in my opinion the majority of the actors in either of them would violate any or all of the resolutions respectively adopted, if thereby they were assured of achieving party success. Why should not an impartial Abolitionist measure each of them with the same rule?

Marlboro, O., July 12. Yours, A. BROOKE.

### *Remarks by the Editor.*

1. Dr. Brooke, it will be seen, confesses above that when he expressed his suspicion that Mr. Pillsbury's resolutions were "suppressed for partisan purposes," he had in his mind, not the Secretaries of the New England Convention, but the Editors of *The Liberator* and THE STANDARD. Why these Editors, neither of whom ever had the missing resolutions in his hand, and one of whom was not only not in the Convention for a single moment, but three hundred miles away, should be held accountable for their non appearance, or be expected to display a zeal for their recovery which neither their author nor the Secretaries were required or expected to exhibit, Dr. B. does not explain. His imputation, so far as it was directed at us, may pass without reply; its special unreasonableness (to use no harsher term), as directed at Mr. Garrison, must be apparent to all, when it is remembered that before the publication of the proceedings he left home to attend the Yearly Meeting at Longwood, and afterwards went to Baltimore and Washington, returning only at the end of two weeks of absorbing labor and excitement. If, during his absence, the missing resolutions were once remembered, he doubtless thought the duty of endeavoring to recover them, or of explaining the failure to do so, would be well discharged by the Secretaries. Certainly no conclusion could have been more natural or reasonable. But Dr. Brooke confesses that he deliberately pointed the finger of suspicion at Mr. Garrison, not only as lacking in the zeal requisite for their recovery, but even as having "suppressed them for partisan purposes"! We submit that if any one in the anti slavery ranks has undergone "an unhappy change," it is the man whose "partisan purposes" so far overcame his better judgment as to lead him to entertain and express such a suspicion.

2. Certainly Abolitionists should impartially measure all political parties "by the same rule," testing their professions by their acts. This is precisely what we have endeavored to do. If the Baltimore Convention, first casting its anti-slavery utterances into phrases evidently designed to be as little offensive as possible to the Copperhead Democracy, had then proceeded to construct the rest of its platform of the very doctrines and asseverations which have for two years been constantly on the lips of the enemies of emancipation, and by the reiteration of which they have sought to throw the government into the hands of the sympathizers with the rebels; if, in addition to all this, the Republican leaders were known to be intriguing to procure the nomination of their candidates at Chicago, and for this purpose were openly declaring that McClellan and Lincoln are "twin cherries on one stem"; and if the Copperhead press were everywhere jubilant in view of these proceedings, deeming the day of their triumph at hand; we should certainly conclude that the leading supporters of the Administration were playing a very dishonest game, and that their anti-slavery professions were wholly untrustworthy. We know not why the same conduct on the part of the responsible leaders of the Cleveland movement should be regarded by any Abolitionist with less disgust or disapprobation.

## *A YEAR AGO AND NOW.*

THE well-known army correspondent of the Boston *Journal*, "Carleton," who has acted in that capacity from the outbreak of the present war, thus writes in regard to the present posture and aspects of the contest, dating, "Near Petersburg, July 2d."

I find now and then men who have the blues—more out of the army than in it—who look at our losses in this campaign and become faint-hearted. They forget that there is another side—that the losses of the rebels are nearly if not quite equal to ours. We went into this war to conquer if it took the last man, woman and child to do it. The questions to be settled, the foundations to be laid and secured are for all time—not for a year or a generation. The cancer to be eaten out had almost taken the life of the victim. It had penetrated the entire system—State, Church, society, high and low. We are eating it out rapidly. There are no slaves in the District of Columbia, or the territories. No slaves in Maryland. No more a fugitive slave bill. Only here and there a slave in Missouri. Kentucky is sending hers into the Union army by thousands. Churches and ecclesiastical bodies are purified; emancipation is decreed.

A year ago to-day a hundred thousand rebels were concentrated at Gettysburg. That army has been destroyed. A second—the best appointed—the largest Lee has ever commanded—has been forced from the Rapidan to Petersburg. A year ago, Richmond was fed by the arteries of commerce. The rebel capital had all her railroads in running order—to Chattanooga and the Mississippi, to Lynchburg, up the Shenandoah, to Danville, to Weldon and the South, to Fredericksburg. To-day, the Central road is destroyed. The roads to Lynchburg and Danville are ruins. Chattanooga is ours. The East Tennessee road is grown over with grass; that to Fredericksburg is broken up; that to Weldon is cut here and in North Carolina. Possibly Lee has the James river canal. He also has the line from Petersburg to Richmond, but he cannot bring a pound of flour or bacon or ammunition from his Southern depots. We are pegging away at him day and night. The country is full of refugees. His thousands of wounded are on his hands. His men become exhausted as well as ours. The men and women who have heretofore harvested the corn and wheat in the northern half of the Old Dominion, and in the Shenandoah are gone from the plantations. Some of them carried these heights of Petersburg the other day. They are shouldering the musket, driving the teams, digging ditches, doing hospital work for the Union.

To-morrow it will be one year since the rebellion was at high tide. I remember how it dashed upon that wall of living hearts at Gettysburg at half-past three in the afternoon—how near it came to flowing over the barriers and sweeping them away—how it crawled up to the muzzles of the guns curled round the Cemetery Ridge, then melted away, its force gone, its power broken.

Compare then and now, and see if there is a reason for being despondent. I see none. CARLETON

## *THE DEATH OF JOHN HOPPER.*

DIED, in Milton, Ulster County, N. Y., on Monday, July 18, very suddenly, JOHN HOPPER of New York, in the 50th year of his age.

This event, so sudden and unexpected, has brought sorrow not only to a numerous family circle, but to a still larger number of friends, more or less intimate, who appreciated his fine social qualities, his philanthropic spirit, and his enthusiastic devotion to the cause of Freedom and Progress. *The Tribune* well says:

"It seldom falls to the lot of a strictly private citizen to be so widely known, and wherever known, to excite such universal esteem and respect. His genial manners, his unbounded humor, and his generous nature, made him sought for as a companion whose mere presence was always refreshing; while his sterling integrity, his sound judgment, and his warm heart that never permitted him to turn away from those in need of aid and counsel, made his friendship invaluable. Like his father, the late venerable Isaac T. Hopper, his delight was in doing good, and none but those who were most intimate with him knew how wide his charity was, how ready he always was in self-sacrifice for the benefit of others, and how incalculable was the good he did, in the aid he extended to those who needed it, and still more, in the ever-ready sympathy and countenance which he was always prompt to give to those who were in distress. He literally obeyed the scriptural injunction, and did not let his left hand know what his right hand did; the poor and unfortunate never appealed to him in vain, and the poorer and the more unfortunate the more certain were they of his help. Impulsive and enthusiastic in disposition, he was passionate in his admiration of noble lives and great principles; for mean acts and unworthy lives he had no measure in his contempt. He tried to make his own life accord with that standard—how well, his many friends can attest."

The death of Mr. Hopper, as we have said, was very sudden. He had been building a house at Milton for his future residence, and was busily employed on Saturday and Monday morning in transporting furniture to it from the landing on the Hudson river. He complained of oppression of the head; and finally laid down upon the bed, dying a few moments afterwards.

From The Evening Post.

Mr. Hopper was born in Philadelphia in the year 1815. He was the son of Isaac T. Hopper, the philanthropist, and shared the toils and dangers of his father in the Anti-Slavery cause, and particularly in securing the freedom of fugitive slaves. He stood by him in the first mob that broke up an abolition meeting at Chatham Street Chapel in this city; and after the death of "friend Hopper," it was always the delight of the son to aid those philanthropic efforts in which his father had been engaged.

In 1836 young John Hopper, who had just been admitted to the bar, visited Charleston, South Carolina, on business. While walking in the street, he was recognized by a man named Nash, a member of the New York police, who gave information that he was an Abolitionist. A ferocious mob assembled at his hotel determined to murder him, and it was found necessary to lodge him in prison for safety. Till night the bloodthirsty wretches surrounded the place, clamoring for his life. The Mayor of New York, Cornelius W. Lawrence, upon hearing of the peril in which Mr. Hopper had been plunged by the infamous conduct of a policeman, summoned Nash before him and revoked his commission.

For twenty years past Mr. Hopper has been the agent of the New England Life Insurance Company for this city, and discharged the trust with ability and rigid integrity. Though of Quaker parentage he did not subscribe to the doctrine of non-resistance, and was a vigorous advocate of the present war for the Union. He was a liberal in his religious convictions and took a leading part in the organization of the Third Unitarian Society of this city.

Mr. Hopper was long known as an earnest and zealous man in every humane enterprise which called his attention. His hatred of oppression, his sympathy with misfortune, and his scorn for meanness, were intense; and his power of language to express his sentiments was beyond description. Words with him seemed like tangible things, to be handled and felt as well as understood. His instincts were manly, just, and of the loftiest character; he had no occasion to wait for conviction. He inherited all that cordiality and humor which characterized his father.

## *ADDRESS OF A SUNDAY SCHOOL TO THE PRESIDENT.*

*To His Excellency*, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States:*

THE Sunday School of the Congregational Church of Paterson, N. J., assembled on this Fourth day of July, 1864, to celebrate, according to their custom, our National Independence, do hereby reaffirm their belief in the principle enunciated eighty-eight years ago by the "Fathers of the Republic," and with them "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Believing this, it has always been a source of sorrow to us that while we were enjoying these inalienable rights, there were millions in our own country to whom the Fourth of July brought no joy—in whose hearts the sight of "the stars and stripes" awakened no emotions of gladness, because their inalienable rights were stolen from them, and they were denied the blessed privileges which we enjoy, and were counted as cattle, and like cattle bought and sold, and even denied the right to learn to read about God and Christ, in the Sunday School.

We were glad when we heard that you had made a Proclamation of Freedom, by which so many of these poor slaves have been restored, and so many more are yet to be restored, to the rights and the liberties which the nation, in defiance of God's law and the Declaration of Independence, had so long robbed them of. But while we were very glad, we were very sorry, too. And our sorrow was because while you had struck the chains from so many, you had not freed all within your power.

And we now write you this letter to ask you, in the name of God who made them, in the name of Christ who died for them—in the name of the Declaration of Independence, which declares the right to freedom—in the name of free government, which is disgraced by slavery—in the name of Justice, which is violated—in the name of Humanity, which is outraged—in the name of those who have gone out from our own school and offered their lives in defence of the nation—and lastly in the name of the nation whose life is still at stake, that you will speedily make another Proclamation of Freedom for all those whom your first proclamation passed by, so that all the slaves in the Republic may be free men and free women, so that when we again meet to celebrate the day which is sometimes called the birth-day of Liberty, we may feel that there is no mockery in the matter, and we may read the Declaration of Independence without blushing for shame.

And our prayer is that God may give you wisdom and courage and strength to do this act of Justice, and thus complete the good work for which we believe He has appointed you and called you to the Rulership of the nation. Very respectfully, yours.

Paterson, New Jersey, July 4, 1864

GEORGE THOMPSON AT AMHERST COLLEGE.—On Wednesday, July 13th, at 3 o'clock, p.m., that distinguished champion of universal liberty, George Thompson, Esq., delivered an oration before the Literary Societies of Amherst College. The large village church was crowded in every part, and the audience was composed of the students, the Alumni, the Faculty, many eminent citizens of various professions, and a large number of ladies and gentlemen, friends of the College. Mr Thompson's theme was—"The Compromises of the Constitution—the Evils and Calamities to which they have led, and the Lessons to be Learned from the Errors of the Past." The Amherst *Express* thus notices the performance:

"The fame of George Thompson, the English Abolitionist, attracted one of the best audiences of the week. He came with his old message, to sympathize with us in every fibre of his heart. He spoke plainly and boldly of what concerns us as a nation. His object was to draw a lesson of warning for the American people from a consideration of past and present events. Our Constitution was a compromise with slavery. He rejoiced that this war would release the Nation from this sin. He closed with an enumeration of the great progress made by the nation, in opinions and power, within four years. The Oration was full of thought though upon a hackneyed theme, and abounded in passages of unusual eloquence and beauty."

The correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, who shows a disposition to disparage the oration, is yet constrained to confess that, "whatever may have been the feeling of the audience when he commenced, the orator gained their sympathies so successfully as to receive general and hearty applause, as he did also several times while speaking." The correspondent of *The Evening Post* says: "He handled American institutions with a kindlier courtesy than we are wont to expect from Englishmen, and carried his audience with him by his clear logic and irresistible fidelity to his great theme. May a favoring Providence give us more of such spirits in the men we have to deal with across the water!"

## *FOURTH OF JULY AT THE HOUSE THAT JEFF. BUILT.*

SOLDIERS' HOME, VICKSBURG, July 5, 1864.

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

Celebrations of the glorious Fourth, made doubly glorious by the memories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg, were doubtless as thick as mosquitoes on the Mississippi yesterday, and as like one to another as they, for the most part. But the celebration of our natal day in the family mansion of the Arch-Traitor who now stands at the head of the Southern Confederacy, by agents of Freedmen's Relief Associations, officers of colored regiments, and teachers of contrabands, was quite a different affair, and deserves its place in the record of the times.

The entertainment was planned and executed under the auspices of Col. Thomas, Acting Superintendent of Freedmen in this Department, in the absence of Col. Eaton. The party, over one hundred in number, left the wharf of Vicksburg at 7 a.m., on the steamer Diligent, a government transport that is *diligent* in conveying rations and other stores to the soldiers and freedmen between Vicksburg and Natchez.

Perhaps I should say, *en passant*, that this was the form of our bidding to this extraordinary and never again (for there can never again be a first time) to be repeated entertainment:

PIC-NIC EXCURSION TO THE JEFF. DAVIS PLANTATION, JULY 4, 1864.

You are respectfully invited to spend the 4th of July at the "Jeff. Davis," Davis's Bend, Miss.

It being leap year the ladies have the privilege of inviting their own escort.

The steamer Diligent will leave the landing at the foot of Crawford street at 5 a.m. on the morning of the Fourth.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements.

There was quite a full proportion of ladies. This department at this time has a number of agents, teachers, and hospital nurses. We were a company of comparative strangers, coming from almost every Northern free State, meeting here for one great purpose. Though engaged in different branches, all were but parts of one great whole.

The trip down, twenty-five miles, gave a chance for recognition and introduction. To have come from the same State was introduction enough—or if even the State lines met we were not strangers. Three hours journey brought us to what used to be Joe Davis's landing. The negroes say that Jeff. owed his farm and negroes, four hundred in number, to his brother, who was very rich and gave him a plantation and received the unpretending edifice that now has become so notorious.

As we landed, the colored people gathered in hundreds in their holiday attire to greet us. "It was a sight to see so many white ladies coming," as one said.

Carts, wagons, and ambulances were in attendance, to transport us two miles back to the famous spot. We passed through corn and cane fields of wide extent, some looking well, others as ill as need be, and little of either betokening a thrifty crop, prophetic of great gains to the speculators, unless present prices should continue to advance. These plantations stretched out for miles on nearly a level, very luxuriant, and bearing evidence of intelligent cultivation.

The slave quarters are larger and more commodious than is usual, and the surroundings of Joe Davis's family mansion (the house now a pile of ruins) are beautiful.

A winding road brought us to the mansion of the chief of Confederates, a one-story frame, expansive and commanding, skirted, as all such are in the South, with deep porches or piazzas, with immense windows opening to the floors, and looking altogether commodious, comfortable and inviting. Over the main entrance, in front, wreathed in evergreens, were the words, "This is the house that Jeff. built"; over the door opposite, at the rear and within, "Exit traitor."

Many were the jokes, anecdotes, and questionings, as we entered within that great hall, and trod the floors those feet have often pressed that are now trampling, as it were, upon the hearts of our brave and gallant dead.

But my story must be short and simple. The romance of the post is enough, and needs no embellishment. Under the oaks that front the house we assembled for the reading of the Declaration of Independence, oration, and song. A rain compelled us to go into the house, where at the usual hour a dinner was served up, and the servants of the former master, rejoicing in emancipation, strove to excel each other in waiting on the Yankees who "comed to hope us"; and then sentiments were proposed—Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, the Army and the Navy, the day, the Republic, were cheered, "till roof and rafters all resounded."

On the right and the left, at the back and the front, grouped picturesquely in all manner of costumes, from gay flounces to disgusting rags (for these are free people), were the freedmen which have been gathered to these plantations to labor for themselves, and to learn from actual experience the truths of the Declaration of Independence. They seemed to enjoy the scene hugely, yet I fancied they would have been prouder of their Northern friends if they had been more elegant and "'spensive." As one old woman expressed it: "I knows a Northern lady quick's I sees her; she don't look so 'spensive like as de t'others."

But my story is told: we eat, we drank, we made speeches and cheered sentiments, we talked the rankest abolitionism under the portals of the traitor, and there were those who sung "We'll Hang Jeff. Davis on a Sour Apple Tree." But to us the prayer of old Isaac had in it more of the ring of the true Christian.

"Oh! Massa Jesus, mighty God, save Massa Jeff. fore it am everlastingly too late. Oh, Lord, take him by the nap of de neck and shake him over de fiery furnace till he squeal like a pig in de bars. But don't let him drop; oh, Massa Jesus, don't let him drop, but fetch him to repentance, and save him sowl in de eberlasting kingdom 'fore dem Yankees make him dry bones in a box."

There, there is the whole spirit of the Gospel.

Are we not in these days, even amid wars and the rumors of wars, living a Christianity hitherto only theorized upon? We enter our enemy's house only to do good. We give ourselves to the work of lifting up the poor and oppressed that he cast down.

We find the poor white trash sick and hungry, and we feed him, naked and we clothe him, sick and in prison and we minister unto him, and while we strike for liberty and right stalwart blows with the right hand, dealing death at every turn, with the left we lift up humanity and every hour vindicate ourselves before God and the nations as being worthy to govern ourselves, as being worthy of the glory that shall enshrine our memory in the hereafter. We, the people, the great true common heart, ever good and brave, is doing this, and Abraham the honest is the strong arm to execute our will.

It was a stirring thought as we bade good night to the house that Jeff. built, that there was scarce one of all that multitude of white men and women that was not there to represent the feeling and charities of thousands of people who have commissioned them to do this holy work. At 5 p.m., amid the still dripping rain we took our leave for Vicksburg, where all arrived in safety, no drinking, no profanity, no misdemeanors, no accidents marring the happiness of the closing hours of a day of rare festivity, mirth and enjoyment.

FRANCES D. GAGE.

A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF COLORED CITIZENS is called to meet in this city on Tuesday, the 4th of Oct. next; "the present state of the country, together with the claims of humanity and universal freedom, and the favorable developments of the Providence of God pointing to the liberation and enfranchisement of the colored race," being thought to require union in council, labor and faith. The call, which bears the signatures of H. H. Garnet, Amos G. Beman, C. L. Remond, and many other leading colored men, contains this statement of the objects of the Convention and the reasons for calling it: "Brethren, the present time is immeasurably more favorable than any other period of our history to unite and act for our own most vital interests. If we are to live and grow, and to prove ourselves to be equal to the exigencies of the times, we must meet in council, and labor together for the general welfare of the people. Sound morality must be encouraged; education must be promoted; temperance and frugality must be exemplied, and industry, and thrift, and everything that pertains to well-ordered and dignified life, must be exhibited to the nation and the world."

## *THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS, held at Longwood, Chester County, 1864. New York: Oliver Johnson, 48 Beekman St.—8 vo., pp. 24.

WHETHER judged by the contents of this report of its "Proceedings," or by the testimony of those who had the privilege of joining in them, this Twelfth Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania seems to have been as full of interest, and as fruitful in good results, as any meeting ever held by that body.

THE STANDARD, from its commencement to the present time, has had constant cause to complain of Churches as hostile to the abolition of slavery. They made no movement towards the overthrow of that great system of oppression which was disgracing and ruining our land, and they did what they could to reproach and hinder those who *had* made such a movement. Our complaints have been chiefly made against the great and powerful sects, since their responsibility was in proportion to their power. But most of the small sects took the same course. The little Swedenborgian body, for instance, refused as persistently as the great Methodist, or Baptist, or Presbyterian, or Episcopalian bodies, to move one step, either towards help of the slave or withdrawal of their own ministers and church-members from the sin of slaveholding. But here is a religious association which, from the beginning until now, has been in the front rank of the great war with oppression; and which has shown even more zeal, by word and deed, in combating the great evil and sin of the present age, than their ancestors, the unprogressive Friends, did and do in opposing all departure from their favorite fashions of dress and speech. The world moves. Even a Church has become an actively reformatory body.

The first of the "Testimonies" of the Yearly Meeting of 1864 is against "Slavery and the Rebellion"; a pertinent mingling in one condemnation of cause and effect, evil tree and poisonous fruit, guilty mother and perverse child. This, with others of the series, may be seen in another column. All are excellent, and worthy of careful reading. But in this one we find, with other considerations pertinent to the subject, the inculcation of a manly, bold, self-sacrificing spirit, and of the faithful discharge by each of the duty owed to his country in the hour of her need. For, maintaining the peace principles which have ever characterized the Progressive Friends (and which, for want of a better name, are called "Non-Resistance"), it clearly refutes the calumnious charge that these principles imply cowardice, or a selfish devotion to personal interests, or a shirking of the duty which every citizen owes to the nation in which he lives. This duty is frankly admitted. The right of the government to draft men for the public service in time of need is admitted. And (in case the government should be so stupid as not to know how the bodies and souls of non-resistants may be made available for the public service) it is suggested that these men would cheerfully take their share of labor and danger in attendance on the wounded, both on the battle-field and in the hospital.

There is, however, one expression in this excellent and admirable document which we regret to see. It is merely an implication, not an assertion; but it concerns a subject so vital to our national welfare, that the truth in regard to it should be pressed incessantly upon the notice of those in power, especially while the Executive chair is occupied by one who avows himself a follower, not a leader, of the people.

This expression occurs in the seventh paragraph of the Testimony on "Slavery and the Rebellion." Maintaining the utter injustice and aggravated guilt of the rebellion, it not only declares that the government may rightfully "put forth its full power" to suppress it, but implies that it *has* put forth its full power, and that it "has faithfully discharged the momentous trusts committed to its hands." Now, believing as we do that the war would long since have ended in the triumph of liberty and just government if the Executive had spoken to our four and a half million of colored people (either early in the war, or so late as the proclamation of September, 1862), these few words of invitation, promise and direction which would have turned the energies of every man and woman among them actively against the rebels and actively in favor of the nation—believing as we do that the people, at either of those periods, would promptly have acquiesced in such a movement of their ruler—and believing as we do that it is the want of this action which still protracts the contest—it seems to us immensely important that these sentiments should be plainly expressed; and that all who feel, with hatred of the rebellion, a love of justice and righteousness, should cry aloud to the President in behalf of a movement needed alike by the oppressed people of color and by the struggling nation.

A specific declaration to this effect would have been happily in harmony with the general statement of the second Testimony, on "Prejudice against Color"; and a request to the President to do the important, just and needful act above specified, and to follow it up by energy in the employment and protection of the colored people, would have well enforced the "Memorials to Congress" respecting a legal abolition and constitutional prohibition of slavery, which form the third Testimony.

The remaining Testimonies relate to the timely and valuable labors of George Thompson in behalf of our country in Great Britain—to the evils necessarily to be expected from the present war, as from every war—to the "Cause of Woman"—and to "Acceptable Worship." All are vigorous affirmations of truths specially needed at the present time, and all were unanimously adopted.

One of the best portions of this pamphlet is the brief and excellent Discourse delivered by Oliver Johnson at the opening of this Yearly Meeting, and appropriately printed with its Proceedings. It sketches the condition and prospects of the Progressive Friends as a religious society, and points out the lessons of encouragement shown by the results, thus far, of their action in that capacity. The very statement of their position shows a marked and most favorable contrast to that of the sects by which they are surrounded. They are free from ecclesiastical and sectarian bonds. Worshipping God, to the full satisfaction of the devoutest soul, they have no prescribed *forms* of worship, no fixed method of procedure; they are bound by no creed or system of doctrines; they have no priesthood to exercise spiritual despotism; they own no infallible book to supersede the direct revelation of God's will to their own souls; holding various individual theologies, they find the bond of union not in them, but in a common love of God and goodness, common aspirations for moral and religious excellence, and a common desire to labor for the welfare of all men. They meet upon terms of perfect equality, with no restraints but those imposed by mutual respect and good order, and *no subject that concerns the welfare of the human race is out of order in their assemblies.* They claim the privilege and admit the duty, irrespective of precedent and routine, to welcome any truth, new or old, however inconsistent with former beliefs or acts; to be hospitable to new thoughts; and, in short, to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. And if there is in them, as individuals, a heart for any enterprise of charity or mercy, a desire to testify against any wrong, or to engage in any work of righteousness, *there is nothing in their organisation to hinder, but much to stimulate and encourage them.* What a contrast to those Churches of the popular religion from which reformers have been obliged to "come out and be separate," that they might work freely for the welfare of their fellow-creatures!

Mr. Johnson claims as a merit (and with great justice) one feature of their association which the old Churches consider a defect. "It is so simple in its structure that nothing can keep it alive after the spirit in which it originated dies out, or it shall cease to answer the wants of its members; and when its moral life has departed, there will be no ecclesiastical rubbish to obstruct the path of human progress, no 'institution' to become a nucleus of superstition and an object of reverence." The addition of this great negative merit to the great positive merits heretofore stated deepens the contrast, already great, between the Progressive Friends and the ordinary Churches. Hear what Henry Ward Beecher (a competent and disinterested judge) says of the latter:

"Institutions of religion are always running down. Since the world began, if it had not been for the religion outside of the Church, Churches would have led the world to destruction. That which has saved the world is the free spirit of religion outside of these institutions. . . . . I mean the influence of individual reformers, that shoot beyond the Churches. It is the

spirit of the living God, moving on the conscience of the community. . . . . You shall find that, when great questions come up in the community, Churches do not go ahead. You cannot make them. Churches are like the baggage wagons of an army. They carry the provisions and indispensable things; but, after all, baggage wagons never go first in a march. And the Church is so busy taking care of the things which it carries, that it has no time to devote to new things that present themselves. Reforms hardly ever originate in Churches."

There is a prominent current instance of this distinction between Church action and reformatory action, which needs to be spoken of, and may as well be spoken of here. Early in the present war, some benevolent individuals commenced the important work of raising and forwarding supplies for the sick and wounded of our immense armies. Their labors, increasing with the need of them, are now carried on upon a gigantic scale, in a manner unequalled in regard to speed, economy and efficiency, and with results solely beneficent. After their organization (called "The Sanitary Commission") had been some time in successful operation, some members and representatives of the popular Churches, who had made no such movement of themselves, and who seem not to have been prompted to it by any influence springing from their Church relation, seeing the favor with which it was received by the community, and the influence which its agents necessarily had upon the recipients of their bounty, conceived the idea of engaging in similar good works *as a means of helping forward their sectarian propagandism*, and favoring the enlistment of recruits for their Churches. They called themselves "The Christian Commission" (misusing the venerable name of Christ, according to their custom), and thenceforth endeavored to divert to themselves, for the upbuilding of their Church party through the good works in question, those resources which the elder association was applying, with a single eye, and a disinterested aim, to the good of the needy and distressed. Thus the incumbrance of a new organisation is placed in the field which the old one was already occupying to the best advantage, the sick and wounded are teased by solicitations often vexatious and untimely, and the community are deluded with the idea that a distribution of sectarian tracts supplies a "Christian" character, otherwise wanting, to the act of helping the needy and suffering.

It may be mentioned, as an illustration both of the freedom cherished by the Progressive Friends, and of their success in attracting the like-minded from the various sects to the pleasure of fraternisation on their higher platform, that among the speakers on this occasion who expressed their hearty sympathy with the meeting were an Universalist, a Swedenborgian, an Orthodox Congregationalist and a Methodist.

This highly interesting and valuable pamphlet may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. C. K. W.

## Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, July 18th.

THE work of reconstruction goes bravely on. I don't mean at Washington, for there seems to be a hitch there; nor at Annapolis or New Orleans; though at both these places important steps have been taken in the right direction. In the former, the Radicals, so called, in Convention assembled, have prepared a Constitution for Maryland, abolishing slavery immediately and without condition; in the latter the Conservatives, thus denominated, besides erecting Louisiana into a free State, have refused to insert the word *white*, thus preparing the way for the Legislature to admit the colored people to the right of suffrage. But what I mean by the work of reconstruction is that which must necessarily be done before the first step can be taken in the erection of a new edifice. The material must be got ready. The stone, either from the new quarry, or from the old structure, must be dressed, shaped, and made ready for the hands of the builder.

Nothing is more certain than that the citizenship of our new Southern States is to be made up largely from their present colored population. Whether people like it or not, such is to be the fact. It is as inevitable as any other result of the war; just as much so as is the abolition of slavery, or as was the enlistment of the black man as a soldier. And every intelligent and loyal man in the country knows it, however profound may be his silence on the subject, or however loud his affected opposition. Mr. Lincoln knows it, and quietly bides what he considers his time. Henry Winter Davis knows it, and stands ready to denounce any premature reference to the subject; Gen. Fremont knows it, and consents to its acknowledgment in an equivocal sentence; Montgomery Blair knows it, and openly resists it, "kicking against the pricks," and talking about deportation—a mere pretence for political effect and to maintain an appearance of consistency.

Nothing is more certain in the future of the South than that those who are now slaves there are hereafter to be citizens. The only practical question is, What is to be done about it? This question has an answer in the action of the Freedmen's Aid Societies. That answer, put into words, is—*Prepare the blacks for the duties and responsibilities of their new position.* This is what I mean by the work of reconstruction, which I say is going bravely on. Boston, New York and Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis, have their associations and their auxiliary associations, busily engaged in this work.

In this city, as I said in my last letter, we have three of these associations; the oldest, and the one in which I am the most interested, is the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief, which has its office at 424 Walnut street. This association has in the last three months put into the field fifteen additional teachers—ten in Tennessee, and five in the city of Washington. It has purchased and partly put in use school books, charts, slates, etc., to the amount of $1,190.22. It has bought and sent out to Port Royal, S. C., and to Nashville, Tenn., five framed sectional school-houses, at a cost of $1,893 00. It has aided by liberal pecuniary gifts the National Freedmen's Association and the Volunteer Teachers' Association of Washington; and, in other ways, by a like liberal use of its means, has it been doing what it could during these three months to promote the welfare of those whom it is its business to benefit.

This association has now, as its somewhat divided field of labor, Tennessee and North Alabama, Washington and the District of Columbia, and Port Royal, South Carolina. We are in receipt of letters almost daily from these different quarters, and the accounts we get are truly cheering. Our Superintendent in Tennessee, Mr. Wm. F. Mitchell, whose business it is to organize schools and locate teachers, has lately been making a tour along the newly made Railroad between Nashville and the Tennessee River, and has sent us the following account of his observations. What he says of the black troops will, I am sure, interest your readers:

THE COLORED TROOPS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILROAD.

The 15th Regiment U. S. C. T. is composed principally of Freedmen from the plantations of Tennessee and Alabama. They are encamped just outside of the city of Nashville, and are employed in the Quartermaster's department. Occasionally a single company is sent to guard, for a time, some bridge or trestle-work on a railroad, or to assist in the erection of a fort; but generally they are occupied with fatigue duty in or near the city. Their camp is a model of cleanliness and order; the avenues between the tents are well-swept, and rows of young pines transplanted, with the design of securing their shade, give a village air and appearance to their city of war.

The drill and discipline of the troops are admirable. No cursing the clumsiness of a raw recruit, but lately a chattel; no imprecations from those whose past experience has taught them that it is a virtue to shirk the every-day duties of life. The officers of this regiment are gentlemen. Recognising the fact that the rank and file are Freedmen, they treat them as such; and the result is a mutual respect, conducing to the advancement of the interest of both. Their Colonel, T. I. Downly, is not of the class who think they have made a sacrifice in taking command of colored troops.

Their Chaplain is one who understands the duties of his profession and tries to perform them. From the first recruiting of this regiment, the officers seem to have understood that a part, and *an important* part, of their commission is the *elevation* of the Freedmen.

Schools were so obviously a means to this result, that very early after the arrival of the regiment at Nashville, the agent of the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association was applied to for teachers and books. The application was promptly met, and for nearly three months a school for adults has been in successful operation at "Camp Donelson."

This institution is conducted on a similar plan to that of the evening schools for colored men and women in Philadelphia. Four and sometimes five teachers are employed. They have a Chapel tent, furnished with benches and a writing table. It will accommodate, perhaps, one hundred pupils, but not more than 20 are in attendance at any one time. The work of instruction commences with the arrival of the first teacher; sometimes as early as 7 a.m., and is frequently continued until 5 p.m. Sometimes 100 will receive instruction in a single day. It is only when the colored soldier is off duty that he can improve the opportunities for learning thus held out to him. He can seldom give more than an hour in any one day, hence from hour to hour the places of one set are taken by another, the groups differing somewhat in appearance, but being strikingly similar in the eagerness for learning which they all display. Upon my late visit to the camp, our teachers showed me some specimens of writing, which developed surprising progress. One colored man showed me a letter which he had written to a friend. The composition was quite good, and the writing easily read. I extract one sentiment: "I hope that you set a good example for the world, that the North may see that we have a regard for our own selves, that we wish to become free men and women."

The former owners of these soldiers do not seem to realize the fact that by their own act, either directly or indirectly, they have lost, and lost *forever*, the services of their bondmen. One man, a carpenter, was traced to the camp, and his owner offered the commander $500 to permit him to leave the regiment and return to his former home. It is needless to say that the offer was scouted; and at a private interview between master and slave, the latter replied to an urgent appeal on the part of the former for him to return home, "I think I'll not do it. I am going to try to do something for myself now." The planter was astonished; and afterwards, meeting the wife of the slave, he remarked, "I wouldn't have believed my nigger would have spoken to me in that way."

The officers frequently assemble the men and hold political meetings, some of them believing that these too are means of instruction. We presume they are outbursts of patriotism and enthusiasm. As they are considered educational in their character, we would that they were such as the lamented Dudley Tyng used to describe; "caucuses, where a Quaker could preside, and a minister of the Gospel ask a blessing." Religious meetings are held regularly in front of the school tent on Sabbath evenings. Such is the "15th Colored." The officers, both of the staff and the line, unite in efforts for the development of the energies of the race, while to stay their hands in this noble work, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association plants in their midst "the palladium of liberty"—a free school.

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While on the subject of colored troops you may as well publish another paper of Mr. Mitchell's, giving an account of the Fifteenth Regiment, stationed at Nashville. It is as follows:

It is only lately that the North-Western Railroad has been completed. It is a government enterprise. Previous to its opening a large portion of the supplies for the western army were brought to Nashville by steam from Cincinnati up the Cumberland; this, together with the Louisville and Nashville R. R., forming the only channels of commercial interchange with the North. They were inadequate to meet the demand made upon them, and in the dry season, when the water in the Cumberland is low, it is well known that navigation is necessarily suspended. This need never be the case with the Tennessee, and by connecting it with Nashville boats could enter it from the Ohio, and discharge their cargoes at the terminus of the new road, whence they would be conveyed by rail to this city. Such is the course now pursued.

Like all other Southern railroads, this requires a strong force to guard it from the attacks of guerillas. At the present time the 12th and 13th regiments of U. S. C. T. perform the service. They are located in camps, a few miles separated, all the way from Nashville on the Cumberland to Johnsville on the Tennessee. These camps are generally near bridges or trestle-work, with, in most instances, stockade forts for their protection. At the more important stations four or five companies are located; at the residue one or two, and sometimes merely a squad of men.

By letters received from and personal interviews with the Chaplains of these regiments, I learn that these gentlemen were making strenuous attempts to sustain schools in the larger of these encampments; and with a desire to encourage and assist them in their laudable efforts, I determined to visit the situations and see for myself. A line from Gov. Johnson, our future Vice-President, procured me transportation, and a camp stove in a "caboose" I considered excellent accommodations. The first 20 miles of my journey lay through a magnificent country. The crops looked finely. I saw corn six feet in height. As we advanced, however, the prospect was not so charming, and after proceeding 30 or 40 miles, cultivation ceased altogether. We reached Johnsville at 4 p.m., and proceeded to our hotel, a western steamer waiting to unload.

The Tennessee here, 100 miles from its mouth, is a beautiful river. It is perhaps one-eighth of a mile in width, and almost straight for miles. The forest comes down to the edge of the stream. Excepting the landing where we were, no settlement appeared on its banks, and its waters were of a dark color, in harmony with the shadows which played upon its surface. Johnsville is an irregular camp to protect a landing. We counted 9 steamers and 10 barges lying at the levee, while anchored in the middle of the stream were three powerful gunboats, which, like huge sentinels, kept watch and ward over the property and lives here in jeopardy. On a high bluff, overlooking the river and the country for miles around, stood the principal camp of the 13th colored. Some four companies are here united, and at the time of my visit were commanded by Lieut.-Col. Travernicht. This gentleman is a German—full of patriotism; and what is sometimes termed "an organized force in himself." With the thermometer at 100 deg, my walk up the side of the bluff was, to say the least, somewhat wearisome; and while resting and looking upon the novel scene before me, the commanding officer rode into the camp, having returned from a day's scout successful. He gave me a hearty greeting, and warmly approved the object of my mission. He then summed up the successes of the day thus: "One rebel mail, seven hundred dollars in Confederate money, two rebels and one horse."

The capture of the mail alluded to was certainly very creditable to his colored troops. The scout commenced at 9 a.m. Soon after crossing the river, the party stopped at a suspected house, and the Colonel proceeded to examine the owner thereof. Of course the latter was *loyal*, "*always had been*," etc., and the Colonel not caring to waste time, pushed on, taking care, however, to leave a guard at the place he had just visited. After he had been gone sometime the guard concluded to search the house, and upon the Colonel's return he found the *Union* man under arrest, while from a chimney a rebel mail had been abstracted. In one of the letters were $700, and in another information which led to the detection of an additional mail-carrier who lived not far off.

At 6 p.m. the infantry in charge of the prisoners came in, walking quickly and singing; notwithstanding they had *marched 16 miles in the hot sun.*

The Chaplain had organised and attempted to maintain a school at this point, but it was of necessity "irregular." He had several such along the road, and was himself the only regular teacher. The place of holding the school was a slope sheltered by a roof of green boughs. The furniture consisted of boys placed in rows like school benches. It was styled the "Temple" among the boys, and was used frequently as a place of religious meetings. I was satisfied that much good might be done by sending a good male teacher to this camp. Here are 400 men, who might in a comparatively short period of time learn to read and write. When the war is over, many of these will settle in the South, and, having themselves tasted of the blessings of education, they will see to it that their children improve such opportunities as may be offered them to procure school learning.

To such a project the officers are highly favorable, and will aid the instructor to the extent of their ability.

As I was returning from the encampment, I passed a squad of colored soldiers at work in a trench outside the new fort. I paused and inquired of one of them, if it was true that "they neither gave nor took quarter." "That," said he, "is a rule that the rebels made, and we are bound to keep it up. We sing, fight, and die," and then as he struck his pick into the tough soil, he ejaculated, "Remember Fort Pillow."

The next day at noon found me at Station 57, on my return. Here are two companies, and an excellent opportunity for a school. This camp is near the largest trestle-work on the road, 57 miles from Nashville. Here I remained 24 hours. This is, perhaps, next to Johnsville, the most important position. I had here a good opportunity for observing the effects of military discipline in developing negro character. These men have had nearly a year's training. They are cheerful, active and prompt. They fear nothing. The last order I heard before retiring was, "Keep your guns where you can lay your hands upon them at once. Do not wait for the drum, but if you hear a single musket, especially just before the break of day, turn out." The first sound in the morning was their cheerful song, as they entered upon the labors incident to the recent removal of their camp.

The officers here promised to provide school quarters, and a tent for the teacher, whenever he should be sent there.

I intended to have visited other stations before my return to Nashville, but an attack of jaundice prevented. I felt somewhat unwell when I set out on the journey, but attributed it to the intense heat of the weather. On the morning of my return, however, I was quite ill, and my color soon showed the cause.

Upon arriving at our quarters and consulting our physician, he advised me to wait a week before attempting anything farther. I have the complaint very hard, but am recovering. It must be confessed that Tennessee at this season is hard on Northern men. I hope, however, when this attack is over, to be acclimated.

As far as I have progressed we shall have places for five teachers, aside from Stevenson, Murfreesboro, or Hartsville.

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I could give you other letters containing cheering accounts of the condition and progress of schools, not connected with the colored troops, in Tennessee, Alabama, and Washington, but I am afraid of taking up too much of your space.

Your late notice in THE STANDARD of our need of teachers has brought us a large number of applications, two of which, just received, I transcribe and send you. They will show your readers the class of people who seek employment in this righteous work. Their authors will, I am sure, for the sake of the cause, forgive the liberty I have taken in giving this unexpected publicity to their letters. The first is from the young widow of the late lamented Col. Fribley, who so bravely fell at the head of his regiment in the fatal battle of Olustee:

NEW BERRY, LYCOMING CO., PA., June 30th, 1864.

MR. J. M. MCKIM—*Dear Sir:* I am doubtless a stranger to you, yet I trust I shall not be an entire one when I tell you that I am the widow of the late Col. C. W. Fribley.

Of my great sorrow and bereavement I will not speak, but you who knew my brave and noble husband can at least, in a measure, understand my great, my irreparable loss, and how dreary and aimless life now is to me. Yet I feel that it is not right that I should thus waste my life in grief and despondency, that there is work for me to do—my dear husband had planned and hoped for years of usefulness, and the legacy his sudden departure bequeaths to me is to carry out those plans so far as they come within my sphere.

He was deeply interested in the cause of freedom, and the elevation of a long oppressed and down-trodden race. It is a wide field of usefulness, and I had hoped to aid my husband in his labors. He always said that I should be his Regimental Teacher; but God did not permit our hopes to be realized, and now though my heart grows faint at the thought of going out in the world without his strong arm to sustain me, yet duty whispers, "Go forward, and God will sustain you." It is thus that I have strength to say (should your Association be in need of teachers) "Send me." I trust I fully understand and appreciate the duties and difficulties of a teacher's life.

Should you accept my services, I would also ask that a young lady friend of mine may accompany me in the same capacity. She has had several years experience as a teacher, is highly educated and refined—and best of all her heart is in the cause.

Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I am, Very respectfully, KATE A. FRIBLEY.

The remaining letter will speak for itself; it is as follows:

WARREN, MASS., July 11, 1864.

MR. MCKIM—*Sir:* I heard yesterday for the first time of your advertisement for 25 teachers to go to the South to teach the colored people. I have been waiting for such a situation during the last six months, and would be glad to find one that would be permanent.

My interest in the colored people was first awakened by my brother, who was one of John Brown's most valued men, both in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry. His devotion and enthusiasm convinced me that the colored people were worthy of interest.

My brother bore the name of Chas. Plummer Tidd. He died in the army. His example has aroused me to emulate his spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion. Through his generosity I have been educated as a teacher, having graduated at a Normal School in Massachusetts. I now feel that I can in no better way show my gratitude to him than in spending my life in the cause so near his heart—the elevation of the black race in America.

Having no duties to bind me to the North I feel that no one can go to the work better than I, and though it seems to be a little trying to go now in the face of danger and hardships, I will not permit myself to shrink from it. I did not see your advertisement but was told of it by Lucy Stone, whose name doubtless you have heard. She said you preferred male teachers. I hope you will not reject me on that account. My heart is in the work, and I am considered by my friends as well fitted for it. I am well and pretty strong—very strong for an American woman. I understand perfectly well that I must submit to hardships and inconveniences and am willing to look them in the face. I have been educated to be self-reliant. * * * *

Address

Miss E. E. PLUMMER, Warren, Worcester Co., Mass.

I need not add that these letters—which have not yet been acted upon by our association—will be sure to receive the attention which their inherent interest and the high character of their writers naturally command. M.

### PERSONAL.

Mr. Peabody, the American banker in London, contributed $2,000 to the Sanitary Commission, but subsequently, on becoming aware of the vast operations and usefulness of the institution, increased his donation to $8,000, which he transmitted to Hon. John P. Kennedy of Baltimore.

The son of Ralph Waldo Emerson—Edward Emerson, a Junior of Harvard College—visited Gov. Andrew, a few days since, in company with his father, for the purpose of enlisting among the one hundred days' men. He desired to enlist among the yeomanry of the State, and therefore was assigned to the Acton company.

Senator Sumner passed through this city at the end of the last week, on his way from Washington to Boston. He was in fine health after the severe labors of the late session of Congress, and in equally fine spirits in view of the success of the important Anti-Slavery measures of which he was the leading champion in the Senate.

The Washington *Chronicle* hears that Hon. Salmon P. Chase has determined to visit Europe during this season. The same paper says: "Report has it that he is now in communication with Secretary Fessenden at New York, in reference to the subject of negotiating a foreign loan. It is to be hoped that the distinguished financial ability of Mr. Chase may be made available abroad in whatever steps may be adopted to sustain the national credit."

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, after eight months of continuous hard work, is now absent from his post. We shall not hear from him regularly, but only *occasionally*, during the hot weather. Though not in Washington at present, he is in constant receipt of private advices from that place, and his familiarity with the state of public affairs will enable him to give us a ray of light now and then when it is needed.

THE article entitled "Radical Ingratitude," and published last week in the Pro-Slavery department, should have been credited to *The Journal of Commerce*.

### ASSOCIATION FOR THE RELIEF OF COLORED SOLDIERS.

FREEDMAN'S HOSPITAL, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 15, 1864.

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

I TAKE great pleasure in announcing to the public, through your valuable periodical, the good work which is now going on in this city by the "Soldiers' Relief Association," their object being to bring aid and comfort to the sick and wounded colored soldiers.

I highly appreciate their work of benevolence, and hope that they may continue in that labor which has thus far given every satisfaction and promise of success. May others follow their noble example—"go and do likewise."

In behalf of the colored soldiers under my charge, I thank the officers and members of the Association for their kindness and attentive duties to the sick and wounded.

Among the most active co-workers may be mentioned, Mrs. Emily Williams and John A. Grimes, Esq. These have done nobly, and they deserve the highest credit for their attention to our wounded colored soldiers, who fought nobly and manfully in the cause of Liberty, Justice, and Equality. May the day soon come when these truths shall be appreciated and enjoyed by every colored man, woman, and child, throughout the length and breadth of the American Continent.

Respectfully,
WM P. POWELL, Jr., M.D., U. S. A.,
Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, England.

## Chronicles of the War.

### Latest News in Brief.

FROM GEN. GRANT.

The news from the army before Petersburg presents nothing of striking interest. Siege preparations continue with unrelenting vigor. Sheridan is reported to have started on another of his terrible raids into the heart of Virginia.

FROM GEN. SHERMAN.

The government is said to have received the highly gratifying information that Gen. Sherman's whole army has crossed the Chattahoochie and advanced five miles south of the river, the rebels making no serious resistance. Johnston is thus forced into the defences of Atlanta, and the city is already under the guns of Sherman, as it is but seven miles south of the river.

CALL FOR MORE MEN.

The President has issued his call for 500,000 men under the new conscription law. A draft for the men not previously enlisted under this call will take place Sept. 5th.

### The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE SPIRIT OF THE COLORED TROOPS.

*Baltimore, Wednesday, July 12—Midnight.*—Bands of colored men came in through the afternoon from relieving their comrades at work in the entrenchments. One of them passed up Baltimore street, last evening, singing with hoarse energy, and with indescribable spirit, "The Battle Cry of Freedom." The voices were all strong, the choruses steady and loud, and nothing could be better in its way than the emphasis with which they sang "Down with the traitor, up with the stars," and "We'll fight with the colored as well as with the white." They came in with pickaxe and spade laid across their shoulders, singing gloriously, and though the hour was late, many applauded them from the windows. If any secessionist heard them he must have felt bitterly.

Our Pennsylvania regiment, the 43d, is doing well, near Druid Hill. They passed through the city a day or two ago, a fine, strong body of men. Their new camp is full of peculiar life and music. Yesterday quite a number of them were singing the old African Methodist hymns, full of potential effect and resounding religion. The rest of them were as merry as children, and swore, here and there, with more privilege than Burnside's veterans. The sergeants and corporals are men quite intelligent, and bound to make a good account for themselves and their fellows. Nothing pleases these gallant sables so much as the crowds of affectionate women kindred who visit them daily, and bring touching gifts of apple-pie and pudding.—E. O'D.—*Phil. Press.*

THE RHODE ISLAND COLORED REGIMENT.

SECOND BATTALION, 8th U. S. ARTILLERY, Camp Shaw, Plaquemine, June 20.

This town is about the size of Pawtuxet, and contains about 600 inhabitants. They are generally the friends of the Confederacy, and would much rather have our room than our company. We are building a fort in this vicinity, and have already mounted ten guns. About 150 contrabands have been impressed from the plantations in the neighborhood, who are doing the work on the fort. The weather is very warm, as much so as to be uncomfortable. We have had a number of scares since we have been here, but as yet no attack has been made by the enemy. The only enemy in our immediate front is numberless swarms of mosquitoes, who render the night hideous with their unearthly noises and whose attacks are anything but pleasant or agreeable.

The health of the battalion is good and the discipline excellent. The men are courteous, obedient and kind. They entertain a high regard for their officers, and consequently readily obey their commands. We have acquired considerable proficiency in drill, and bid fair to become second to no battalion in the service. The battalion has the use of the Methodist Church in this town, and holds divine service every Sabbath. We also have a Sabbath school of over 300 scholars, which promises good results for the cause of Christ. The morale of the battalion is good, though we are sadly in want of religious reading. The Christian Commission has kindly supplied our wants twice, but we have had no reading matter for some time. We do not lack for music and dancing, for there are plenty of amateurs who perform more of this kind of labor than is necessary either for the moral or physical health of the battalion. We are anticipating pleasant times the coming Summer.—R. A. J.—*Providence Journal.*

COL. BARTRAM'S REGIMENT.

A private letter from the Twentieth United States Colored Regiment, Col. Bartram, at New Orleans, says that the regiment is in splendid condition. Three companies are on detached service—two in New-Orleans and one at Jefferson City. The remaining companies are at Camp Parapet, under command of Lieut.-Col. Mather. Col. Bartram is in command of the district of Carrollton, a very important duty. The regiment has once been sent to Texas, but returned after a stay of two months. Since going out, the regiment has lost about fifty men by disease, and one officer, Capt. Stiles, who, in a fit of delirium, jumped overboard from the steamer on the return from Texas.—*N. Y. Times.*

THE BRAVE BLACKS.

The Chicago *Tribune* prints the following:

A letter from Seth Paine, Jr., of the 61st U. S. Infantry (colored) has been shown us, dated at Memphis, in which the writer pays a just and noble tribute to the bravery of the black troops composing part of the command of Gen. Sturgis. He says that after the white troops had been defeated and large numbers taken prisoners, the black troops were ordered on to the charge, which order they obeyed with a cheer, losing 500 killed out of 1,200, going in with the motto, "We neither give nor ask for quarter," and fighting for several hours with a desperation never more than paralleled in the annals of warfare. The remnant left marched back to Memphis, 145 miles, in solid column, arriving two days behind the white troops, bringing their colors with them literally riddled with rebel bullets. "One special act of bravery," says the letter, "must not go unmentioned. Col. Bouton, commanding the colored brigade, having in the heat of the action got some distance in advance of his command, was fiercely attacked by three rebels, and was about to be taken prisoner, when a single colored soldier coming to his aid, shot one rebel, bayoneted the second, and with the butt of his musket killed the third, thus saving the life of his gallant Colonel." At one time the black boys were so close to the rebels that the guns of both rested upon the same fence. The following closing paragraph of this letter is worthy of the brave soldier from Illinois: "Now, my dear father, as we are about starting to meet the same rebel force (the one which defeated Sturgis), I deem it my duty to write and let you know of the expedition, as I may very likely be killed and you misinformed of where I have gone. Rest assured, if we meet the enemy, I shall acquit myself like a good soldier; and should I fall (for I would not be taken prisoner), believe me I shall die as I have lived, a patriotic and country-loving boy. I give this to the Chaplain to be mailed, after we are gone."

LETTER FROM A COLORED SOLDIER IN CHARLESTON HARBOR.

The Boston *Liberator* publishes the following letter from a colored soldier, dated at Morris Island, June 26:

"WM. L. GARRISON—*Sir:* I thought you might be pleased to know that your principles were strongly represented in the detachment that loaded the one hundred pounder Parrot gun that threw the first three shells at Chaleston city, S. C. No. 1 is a strong Abolitionist, and has worked well among the soldiers. This man put the loads into the gun. No. 2 is now in favor of emancipation, though he don't think the negro his equal. No. 3 was an old emancipationist years ago, and always took your paper; and the gunner is a Republican. The other members seem to go with the strongest party, but believe in extirpating slavery from the land at the present time.

"Some of the Boston papers say that Fort Sumter has guns which annoy the fleet and camps on this island. This is a mistake. It has not sent a shot from its shattered walls since last August, with the exception of a few grape and canister thrown at the picket boats and storming party, from a twelve-pounder howitzer. It cannot reach Fort Putnam with this, which is the nearest point.

"The rebels have some thirty batteries on James and Sullivan's Island, mounting about seventy-five guns. From these they throw shot and shell at us now and then, but not very often, as our men are by far the best gunners (notwithstanding they are mudsills), and send them back with interest. Charleston might be taken without a great loss of life at the present time. I don't think there are more than one thousand men on James Island just now."

GEN. HUNTER'S RAID.

From The Wheeling Intelligencer, July 12.

The contrabands brought out from the vicinity of Lynchburg by Gen. Hunter are quartered in the Atheneum. They are entirely different from the specimens of the race found in this country. Some of them are as black as the raven, and their faces shine like a polished boot. They all have the same peculiar gait, and they talk and laugh unlike the darkies from other States. They were sitting, standing, leaning, and lying about the Atheneum yesterday basking in the sun. Some were sitting upon a fence, others were anchored upon the curbstone, and still others leaning half way out of the windows of the building. In all the gang of fifty, we did not find any two garments that were at all similar in color or style, and every sort of hat that was ever made was represented. They were yesterday mustered into the service of the United States.

When the negroes were stripped for the medical examination, some of their backs were found to be terribly scarred with the lash from the neck to the waist. One of the contrabands had a foot "on to him" like a dug-out. The government don't own a shoe that will fit him. He will have to be sent to Philadelphia to be shod.

Last evening after the contrabands had been provided with their new clothing they were paraded through the streets. Each one of them showed all the ivory he had in his mouth as they stepped along to the cry of "left" from the officer in charge. They created a great deal of merriment among the people on the street and particularly among the soldiers, who appeared to consider the appearance of the darkies an excellent joke.

THE FIFTY-FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS.

This colored regiment was, as a whole, for the first time under fire in their recent assault upon a rebel intrenchment on James Island. The men behaved gallantly, making the charge on the double quick, and capturing and carrying off two 12-pounder guns. The affair established the fact beyond all cavil that this regiment could and would fight. In view of this fact, let us hope that they may soon receive their just dues and be paid off.—*Boston Transcript.*

RECRUITING IN KENTUCKY.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* says: "Gen. Thomas will remain at Paducah for some days and will complete the work of organising colored troops in Kentucky. He declares his intention to 'put that job through,' and regrets that the immunity he granted Kentucky, through Gov. Bramlette last Winter was thrown away. He says he does not care how much the feelings of Kentucky may be hurt by the organization of colored troops, nor how much the people there may protest their loyalty to the government, as long as they add, 'only do not take our niggers'; for he not only intends to take them, but he has given orders to have each regiment, as soon as organized, armed and equipped, marched through the principal towns in their immediate vicinity. This will be worm wood and gall to the Senator McHenry stripe of Union men, who swore last Winter to 'vote for no man who would avow that nothing should stand between them and their loyalty to the government, for that was a virtual invitation to Lincoln to send his nigger recruiting agents into the State.'"

## Summary.

JAMES F. SIMMONS, formerly United States Senator, died on Thursday at his residence in Johnston, R. I., at the age of about sixty-nine years. He was for many years connected with important manufacturing enterprises in Rhode Island, was a prominent Whig politician, and was a member of the upper branch of Congress in 1840.

DANIEL S. DICKINSON was orator of the day at Oswego on the Fourth of July, and in the evening of that day a sealed envelope containing one hundred dollars was handed to him as an acknowledgment of his highly satisfactory effort, but Mr. Dickinson handed it back with the request that a committee of ladies should distribute it among the poorest families of absent soldiers from that village.

The Atlanta (Ga) *Register* praises the Northern Copperheads as honest and patriotic men, and says: "If they will use the ballot-box, against Mr. Lincoln, whilst we use the cartridge-box, each side will be a helper to the other, and both coöperate in accomplishing the greatest work which this country and the continent have witnessed." The Copperheads see it in the same light, but are not honest enough to say so.

COLORED PEOPLE IN PHILADELPHIA.—The *Presbyterian* has the following respecting the colored people in Philadelphia:

"There are in Philadelphia about 23,000 colored people. A large majority of them are sober, industrious and intelligent, sustaining themselves by laboring in various ways, many of them in the capacity of servants, scattered promiscuously over the city. These people have eighteen churches of their own, with an average capacity of three hundred."

We doubt not similar testimony might be given respecting the character of the negro throughout the country.

HONORS TO AN AMERICAN TAR.—Our Paris correspondent chronicles the death at the Cherbourg Hospital of the brave fellow, Gowan, who had his thigh crushed while serving one of the big guns of the Kearsarge. At the dinner given by our Minister at Paris to Capt. Winslow, the Surgeon of the Kearsarge gave an account of the bravery and fortitude shown by this gallant Yankee tar, and the company at once subscribed a handsome sum to build him a monument—the Surgeon charging himself with carrying out the desire of the donors.—*Times.*

DURATION OF THE WAR.—The secessionist Englishman who writes from Baltimore to the London *Times* begins one of his recent letters thus:

"A story is told in Baltimore by a gentleman who was recently in Richmond, that the Southern President was asked in his presence how soon he thought the war would end? Placing his hand upon the head of a little boy, not five years of age, Mr. Davis replied, 'Not till this child is an old man.'"

In which event the "little boy not five years of age," when he is an "old man," will find very little left of the South he knew in the days of his infancy, but a great deal more of the North, about which Mr. Jefferson Davis knows very little.—*Eve. Post.*

NEGROES KILLED AND WOUNDED NEAR MT. WASHINGTON.—On Sunday evening, the 10th inst., about 8 o'clock, seven or eight men, strangers, rode into Mt. Washington from Salt River. They said they were in pursuit of a lot of negroes who had run off, and that they intended watching for them at Rolling Fork Bridge that night. On Monday morning they returned to Mt. Washington, and said they had killed seven negroes during the night. A few citizens went to the bridge, and found two negroes there and three wounded mortally. The negroes all had corn-cutting knives with them; they had passed through a corn field belonging to George Abel, near Mt. Washington, and had cut a row of corn down across the field. The wounded negroes were lying by the road side on the pike in Jefferson County near the Bullitt County line.—*Huntsville Democrat, July 11.*

Rev. Thomas W. Kinnard, of the British Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, and a delegate from Canada to the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which this year held its quadrennial session in Philadelphia, visited his birth-place in Delaware, recently. While at Camden, he was arrested under the law prohibiting colored persons from entering the state. He was fined fifty dollars and costs. Not having the money to pay, he was sold, and purchased by a brother of the man who had emancipated him some years ago. This man took Mr. Kinnard's due bill for the amount he paid, and gave fifty dollars security that Mr. Kinnard would leave the State in five days. Being a British subject, and having provincial papers to show that he was under the Queen's protection, he naturally made the facts known to Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, who assured him that satisfaction should be sought. His experience shows that slavery is not dead, even in Delaware.

A PARALLEL.—Lord Shaftesbury, in a recent debate in the British Parliament on the humane bill which he has introduced to protect chimney-sweeps, narrated the story of the fine lady who exclaimed: "A chimney-sweep indeed wanting education! What next?" And said, in commenting on it, "I say, my Lords, that woman who could speak in that way of a human being with reference to his temporal and external interests is a woman who could cut up a child for dog's meat or manure."

How many people have we not among us, or representing us in Congress, that cry, day after day, "A negro indeed wanting to be a man! What next? Sitting in our cars? Testifying in our courts? Walking in our streets? Why, man, the negro was destined to be cut up for dog's meat."—*Eve. Post.*

MCCLELLAN'S FRIENDS.—*The Herald* had a correspondent—Mr. Charles H. Hannam—on one of the Baltimore Railroad trains captured by Harry Gilmor's raiders near Magnolia station, who writes that

"During the four hours we remained in their custody the rebels several times asserted that their only object in continuing the war was to win their 'liberty and independence and only wanted to be let alone.' Arming the negroes was a subject of much complaint. They said it was all Old Abe's doing, and if ever they caught him they intended tying him to a tree and making him kiss a nigger.' Gen. McClellan was spoken of with much respect, and they said '*he was the only Union General worthy of the position.*'"

Did any one *ever* meet a rebel, whether of the fighting or the Gold-gambling 'State Guard' variety, who *didn't* think and speak well of McClellan, and think we made a great mistake in having any one else to lead our armies? We never did.—*Tribune.*

The Washington *Chronicle* of Friday says: "The mail receipts at the Post-Office are at present the largest ever known in Washington. Dates up to the 13th have been received from New York. Nine mails were due from all the principal cities North and West, and the amount of mail matter received filled seven wagons and two hundred and eighty mail pouches and one hundred and seventy-five bags. This is the largest mail ever received at one time in Washington. The enormous amount of work thus entailed upon the various departments of the Post-office will necessitate as much patience from the public as it will unremitting application in the Post-office employés. When it is remembered that the mails have to be separated, that the army mails have to be opened and assorted, first according to States and then to regiments, some adequate idea of the amount of labor to be accomplished can perhaps be formed."

PORTRAIT OF SALMON P. CHASE.—Miss C. L. Ransom, the Cleveland artist, who has been lately residing in Washington, has been commissioned to paint a full-length portrait of Secretary Chase for the capitol at Columbus Ohio. She has already painted a smaller one which is at the Treasury Department. Her recent portrait of Gen. Garfield has been already alluded to in these columns as a work of signal merit. Miss C. Ransom has also painted a portrait of Mr. Giddings. Of her recent portrait of Mr. Chase *The National Intelligencer* says:

"Secretary Chase will be represented as entering the south door of the Treasury; he has just risen to the platform, and stands with his hat off, in his left hand; the background shows the Washington Monument and the shores of the Potomac. There is great propriety in the position thus taken by the artist, inasmuch as Mr. Chase was the first Secretary of the Treasury to enter and ocupy the south wing of the Treasury Department."

HENRY WILSON.—Senator Wilson has not escaped the criticism of some members of his own party, while he has met the incessant abuse of the Opposition, for his course as Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate. We do not now remember any instance, however, in which there has been a question raised of his honest and patriotic devotion to his duty. It is not at all singular that, at times, the prudence of his speech or the expediency of some recommendation of his may have been doubted. We are certain that every member of the Senate has, more or less frequently, thus fallen under the censure of friends. But Henry Wilson has, from the day he entered the Senate to the present moment, in our judgment, and we believe in the judgment of the great body of the people of the State, been an honest, faithful, hard-working, and certainly an able public servant. No man has been more laborious in the Committee room, more ready in the Senate Chamber, or, we believe, more single-hearted and unselfish in purpose to sustain the government in its trial hours, than Henery Wilson; and we hear but one opinion expressed by the Republicans of this section, in reference to his reëlection the coming Winter. Of his return to the Senate for another term, we think there is no question.—*New Bedford Mercury.*

☞ A well-merited tribute.—*Ed. Liberator.*

THE DIFFERENCE.—In accordance with their uniform practice in all controverted cases, both *The Liberator* and THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD published entire the first letter of Mr. Phillips to the Editor of the New York *Independent*, with the Editor's reply; but *The Commonwealth*, *The Principia*, and *The New Nation* (Fremont organs) copy only the letter, but not a word of Mr. Tilton's reply. Is that fair dealing? It would not have been deemed so if *The Liberator* or STANDARD had copied only the reply, and not the letter. We perceive that the letter alluded to has been eagerly published by the Boston *Courier*, the New York *World*, and other copperhead journals; but, of course, as in the other cases, no part of Mr. Tilton's rejoinder is allowed to be seen by their readers. They clutch at anything that promises to divide the loyal ranks, cover the President with odium, break down his Administration, and make it possible for them to come again into power.—*Liberator.*

### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*Acknowledgments from June 1 to July 1, 1864.*

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### Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

*Receipts for the Quarter ending June 30, 1864.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agnes Crain, | $3 00 | Simpson Preston, | 7 50 |
| Mary Grew, | 10 00 | Abner Haines and sister, | 2 00 |
| Thomas W. Trego, | 1 00 | Wm. Greaves, | 2 00 |
| Mary Ann Evans, | 1 00 | Sarah Woodnut, | 2 00 |
| Eliza S. Randolph, | 5 00 | Abigail Goodwin, | 3 00 |
| John W. Heins, | 10 00 | Jonathan Paxson, | 2 00 |
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| Thos. B. Longstret, | 10 00 | Dr. Ann Preston, | 2 00 |
| Ab. L. Pennock, Sr., | 25 00 | James Painter, | 5 00 |
| Eliza Agnew, | 2 00 | Alan W. Corson, | 5 00 |
| Esther Roberts, | 2 00 | Stacy Pickering, | 2 00 |
| Wm. Thompson, | 5 00 | Sarah Clendenon, | 1 00 |
| Nathaniel Potts, | 50 00 | Deborah S. Coates, | 2 00 |
| Sarah W. Comly and Lucia Wright, | 10 00 | T. Ellwood Longshore, | 5 00 |
| Dr. Hiram Corson, | 10 00 | Thomas Hambleton, | 5 00 |
| Wm A. Thomas, | 20 00 | John Hambleton, | 1 00 |
| Levi Coates, | 5 00 | Enoch Lewis, | 20 00 |
| Charles Hambleton, | 5 00 | Pliny E. Chase, | 10 00 |
| Isaac S. Flint, | 5 00 | Carlile Smith, | 5 00 |
| Allen Agnew, | 5 00 | Jonathan Pickering, | 2 50 |
| Isaac Mendenhall, | 5 00 | Wm. Malin, | 7 50 |
| Charles W. Peirce, | 10 00 | Emma Newbold, | 10 00 |
| Joshua Hoopes, | 4 00 | Mary Newbold, | 5 00 |
| Elizabeth B. French, | 3 00 | Henry Samuel, | 5 00 |
| Sarah Ely, | 1 00 | Thomas Webster, | 5 00 |
| Edward Hanes, | 5 00 | Wm. S. Peirce, | 5 00 |
| George Wright, | 5 00 | Wm. Sellers, | 25 00 |
| David Pettit, | 3 00 | Col. Wagner, | 5 00 |
| Hannah M. Darlington, | 5 00 | Atherton Blight, | 5 00 |
| Wm. Wright, | 5 00 | Theodore Bliss, | 5 00 |
| Benjamin Lloyd, | 3 00 | Charles Wise, | 5 00 |
| Martha Shoemaker, | 1 00 | B. F. Reimer, | 5 00 |
| John Hall, | 20 00 | E. W. Clark, | 25 00 |
| Seth Ely, | 8 00 | Abraham Barker, | 10 00 |

SARAH PUGH, Treasurer.

## Special Notices.


A CARD.—Owing to the enormous advance in the prices not only of the precious metals, but of every other commodity, I find it impossible to continue longer the sale of my PENS at old rates. This I regret exceedingly, as I had hoped to continue without change; but, having to buy gold at the present fabulous prices, this is no longer possible.

My friends and the public will give me credit, however, for having struggled long and hard against the universal pressure to depreciate the Government credit and currency. The advance now made is not enough to cover me, with gold at present rates; should it remain where it is, or go still higher, a further rise in prices must be made. In any case, however, I intend, as heretofore, to sell a better article for less money than can be bought elsewhere.

A circular, with engravings of all the sizes, styles, and present prices will be sent on receipt of letter postage. Address A. MORTON,

July 11, 1864. No. 25 Maiden-lane, New York.

NEW MUSIC.—"NO SLAVE BENEATH THAT STARRY FLAG."

"No slave beneath that starry flag,
The emblem of the free,
No fettered hand shall wield the brand
That smites for liberty."

Song and Chorus, words by Rev. George Lansing Taylor, music by Mrs. Parkhurst.

"Friends of the Union we Greet You To-night," song and chorus as sung by the Tremaine Brothers with great applause.

"Let Me Die with my Face to the Foe," quartette, words and music by J. G. Clark, as sung by the author at all his concerts.

"The Dying Soldier Boy," song and chorus, by W. Virgil Wallace. The above songs are all excellent. Price 30 cents each, or the four for $1, mailed free.

HORACE WATERS, No. 481 Broadway.

PHOTOGRAPHS.—Fine Photographs of William Lloyd Garrison, Oliver Johnson, Theodore Tilton, Gov. Curtin, James and Lucretia Mott, John Hutchinson, Asa Hutchinson and family, Frederick Douglass, and others, from card size upwards, have recently been published by J. W. HURN, 1319 Chesnut st., Philadelphia, where duplicates of all can be obtained.

# Miscellaneous Department.

## THE RIPENING CORN.

How sweet to walk through the wheatlands brown,
When the teeming fatness of Heaven drops down!
The waving crop with its bursting ears
A sea of gold on the earth appears;
No longer robed in a dress of green,
With tawny faces the fields are seen;
A sight more welcome and joyous far
Than a hundred blood-won victories are.

Beautiful custom was that of old,
When the Hebrew brought, with a joy untold,
The earliest ears of the ripening corn
And laid them down by the altar's horn;
When the priesthood waved them before the Lord,
While the Giver of harvest all hearts adored:
What gifts more suited could man impart
To express the flow of his grateful heart?

A crowd awaits 'neath the cottage eaves,
To cut the corn and to bind the sheaves;
At length is heard the expected sound—
Put in the sickle, the corn is browned;
And the reapers go forth with as blithe a soul
As those who joined the Olympian goal:
And sorrowless hearts and voices come
To swell the shouts of the harvest home.

And there is a reaper on earth well known
Whose deeds are traced on the burial stone:
He carries a sickle more deadly and keen
Than e'er on the harvest-field was seen;
He cuts down the earliest ears in spring,
As well as the ripest that time can bring;
The tares he gathers to flames are driven,
The wheat is laid in the garner of Heaven.

—*London Farmer's Magazine.*

## *THE FREEDMEN OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI.*

[We have before us a pamphlet with the following title: 'The Mastership and its Fruits: the Emancipated Slave Face to Face with his old Master. A Supplemental Report to Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, by JAMES MCKAYE, Special Commissioner." Mr. McKaye, it will be remembered, was associated with Robert Dale Owen and Dr. S. G. Howe in the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, appointed by the Secretary of War; and he has given us in this pamphlet the results of his inquiries into the character, condition and prospects of the Freedmen of the Lower Mississippi. His testimony is exceedingly valuable, and we proceed to give such extracts as the space at our command will allow. After devoting a dozen pages to a description of the peculiar features of slavery and the peculiar characteristics of the masters of that region, he proceeds to speak of the condition, feelings, and prospects of both classes now that the slave system is overthrown.]

HERE, upon the banks of the great river, the results and products of slavery are still to be seen, side by side; the colored man as slavery has left him, and the white man as slavery has made him.

Allow me briefly to present them, not in the light of my own personal observation alone, but rather in that of the experience of those whose duty it has been to mingle with them, and to deal practically with many of the troublesome and disturbing questions arising out of the great transformation going on in their midst.

THE FREEDMEN.

And, first, as to the colored man. Gen. Banks, in command of the Department of the Gulf, whose experience and earnest study of the subject matter under consideration gives weight to his testimony, declared to me that he had learned far more of the colored men than of the white; that they understood much better the requirements of their own peculiar position in the present exigency than the white men did of theirs, and accepted them much more readily and wisely; and that, in his judgment, "whoever else might fail in the great revolution, it would not be the black man."

And, in a letter from Alexandria, Louisiana, in answer to certain inquiries addressed to him, previous to my departure from New Orleans, under date of March 28th, 1864, Gen. Banks writes:

"I entertain no doubt whatever of the capabilities of the emancipated colored people to meet and discharge the duties incident to the great change in their condition. I have seen them in all situations, within the last year and a half, and it is with much pleasure I say, as I stated to you in person, that they seem to me to have a clearer comprehension of their position, and the duties which rest upon them, than any other class of our people, accepting the necessity of labor which rests upon them as upon others. The conditions they uniformly impose show the good sense with which they approach the change in their condition.

"They demand, in the first instance, that to whatever punishment they may be subjected, they shall not be flogged.

"2. That they shall labor only when they are well treated.

"3. That families should not be separated.

"4. That their children shall be educated.

"With these stipulations I have never found any person of that race who did not readily accept the necessity of continuous and faithful labor at just rates of compensation, which they seem willing to leave to the government. As far as the experiment goes in this department, they have justified in the fullest degree this conclusion, and, subject to the conditions which they impose, they are willing to and have rendered faithful labor.

"There were in this department, when I assumed command, many thousands of colored persons without employment or home, who were decimated by disease and death of the most frightful character. To these, natives of the plantations in the department, have been added many thousand fugitives from the surrounding States, of every age and condition. There are not, at this time, 500 persons that are not self-supporting, and there has not been in the last year, any day when we would not have gladly accepted ten or twenty thousand, irrespective of their condition, in addition to those we have of our own. Except that the negro understood the necessities of his position, and was able, in the language of your letter, 'to meet and discharge the duties incident to the great change in his condition,' this result would have been physically impossible.

"Wherever, in the department, they have been well treated, and reasonably compensated, they have invariably rendered faithful service to their employers.

"From many persons who manage plantations, I have received the information that there is no difficulty whatever in keeping them at work, if the conditions to which I have above referred are complied with."

And George H. Hanks, Colonel of the 15th Regiment, Corps d'Afrique, member of the Board of Enrollment, and Superintendent of negro labor in the Department of the Gulf, under date of February 6th, 1864, deposes: "that he went to Louisiana as a Lieutenant in the 12th Connecticut Regiment, under Gen. Butler; that he was appointed superintendent of contrabands under Brig.-Gen. T. W. Sherman." The negroes, he says, "came in scarred, wounded, and some with iron collars round their necks. I set them at work on abandoned plantations, and on the fortifications. At one time we had 6,500 of them; there was not the slightest difficulty with them. They are more willing to work, and more patient than any set of human beings I ever saw. It is true there is a general dislike to return to their old masters; and those who have remained at home are suspicious of foul play, and feel it to be necessary to run away to test their freedom. This year the dislike has very much lessened; they begin to feel themselves more secure, and do not hesitate to return for wages. The negroes *willingly accept the condition of labor for their own maintenance, and the musket for their freedom.* I knew a family of five, who were freed by the voluntary enlistment of one of the boys. He entered the ranks for the avowed purpose of freeing his family. His name was Moore; he was owned by the Messrs. Leeds, iron-founders; they resided within one of the Parishes excepted in the proclamation of Emancipation. He was the first man to fall at Pascagoula. Upon starting, he said to his family: 'I know I shall fall, but you will be free.'

"A negro soldier demanded his children at my hands. I wanted to test his affection. I said: 'They had a good home.' He said: 'Lieutenant, I want to send my children to school; my wife is not allowed to see them; I am in your service; I wear military clothes; I have been in three battles; I was in the assault at Port Hudson; I want my children; they are my flesh and blood.'"

Col. Hanks, whose true-hearted and faithful service to the colored people in the Department of the Gulf cannot be too highly appreciated, did not, of course, undertake to withstand that appeal. The children were delivered to the father.

Next to the right to work for his own maintenance and that of his family, the colored man here, as elsewhere, asks for the privilege of sending his children to school.

"The colored people," says Col. Hanks, "manifest the greatest anxiety to educate their children, and they thoroughly appreciate the benefits of education. I have known a family to go with two meals a day, in order to save fifty cents a week to pay an indifferent teacher for their children."

The universal and urgent desire of the colored people for education was most strikingly illustrated by a fact that came to my knowledge during a recent visit to Port Hudson. In each of the camps of the colored regiments, the best built cabin was a school-house. These regiments had obtained the authorization of Gen. Andrews for the establishment of regimental schools. They proceeded with their own hands to erect school-houses, and, at their own cost, to procure teachers (in some of the regiments the chaplains undertook that duty); and, according to the testimony of their officers, all their leisure time was most assiduously and perseveringly devoted to their studies. Ought not the government to encourage this most praiseworthy desire of the colored regiments, by providing for each, at least one permanent teacher? A disabled veteran white soldier might be thus employed.

A desire for education, a love of knowledge in any community or people have been always considered the surest proofs of their intrinsic worth, the most hopeful signs of their capacity for civilization and future advancement. The extraordinary manifestation of this love and desire among the emancipated colored people, when taken in connection with their previous condition of degradation, is one of the most amazing facts with respect to them. And when contrasted with the almost universal indifference, even contempt, with which the poor Southern whites regard that matter, is well calculated to stagger the white man's boast of the great superiority of his race. The colored man came out of Africa without a single element of civilization. Not even a tradition of any trace of education belongs to his ancestry. On the other hand, what are called "*the poor white trash*" of the slave States, are for the most part, the descendants of the same race as the men who have carried our civilization from the hills of New England through the great wilderness, to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. They set out upon their career with many advantages of climate and soil, and with equal opportunities for education and enlightenment. But there stood in their way the formidable barriers of the *mastership.* Its all-devouring darkness swallowed them up, and to-day it can only be said of them, that no more ignorant, demoralized, and pitiable community of human beings ever lived in any civilized country, in any age.

It may therefore be questioned, whether after all, the most pernicious and fatal work of the masters has not been wrought against their own race, even leaving out of the account their present attempt to overthrow the grandest results of its history—the nationality, civilization, and free institutions of the People of the United States.

"Besides their hearty appreciation of education, the colored people," says Col. Hanks, "are very religious and devotional, and through this channel are easily controlled and taught. I have had frequent exhibitions of their trust in God relative to their freedom. I have known them to pray to God to bless the d—d Yankees."

"The negroes," says Mr. Roudanez, "are much more virtuous since the proclamation of Freedom. The men respect themselves much more, and the women are much more chaste, because an honest livelihood is open to them. Cohabitation was often prompted by their wants, such as clothing and other necessaries."

It is hardly necessary for me to speak of the character of the colored man as a soldier, as presented here in the Valley of the Mississippi. The universal official attestation to his soldierly bearing and true valor under the severest trials, has put that beyond question. Nor are his sobriety, orderliness, and willing submission to discipline, less conspicuous. Gen. Andrews, in command at Port Hudson, recently assured me that his colored troops were his best troops, that they performed all their duties, and especially fatigue duties, with greater cheerfulness and more faithfully than the white regiments; and that, with competent officers, he believed no troops would be more reliable.

Even the single instance of apparent insubordination which occurred recently at Fort Jackson, was provoked by such unheard-of outrages on the part of the Lieutenant-Colonel, and the other white officers implicated, that Gen. Dwight, who was sent there by Gen. Banks to investigate the matter, personally declared to me, that the colored soldiers were blameless. The officers were dismissed from the service—a very light punishment, considering the enormity of their offences.

This affair was published in many public journals in the United States and abroad as a case of mutiny. It had really nothing of the *animus* of a mutiny. What the men proposed to do was to take with them their shameless and guilty officers, march to New Orleans and deliver themselves up to Gen. Banks as the Commander-in-Chief.

We need not then despair of the emancipated negro. Notwithstanding the degradation imposed upon him by the slave system, there is much left in him to build upon. He is at least ready and willing to undertake the performance of his humble and toilsome part in the new order of things. Indeed, if one may take as a proof the results of the life-struggle and history of the old free colored people of Louisiana before referred to, the conclusion is unavoidable, that the black man is not only capable of self-guidance and self-maintenance, but, that under the influence of higher and nobler human motives and incentives, his progress in the arts and attainments of civilized life, is subject only to the same laws that control that of other races of men.

THE OLD MASTERS.

On the other hand, what is to be said of the white man, his old master, and of his capacity, disposition, and attitude relative to the part which he is called upon to perform in the new industrial and social system?

Col. Hanks, a large portion of whose daily life, for two years past, has been spent in daily intercourse with the planters in the Department of the Gulf, declares that "although they begin to see that slavery is dead, yet the spirit of slavery still lives among them. Many of them are even more rampant to enslave the negro than ever before. They make great endeavors to recover *what they call their own negroes.* One planter offered me $5,000 to return his negroes. They have even hired men to steal them from my own camp. (The old spirit still prompting to the old crime, which, long ago, was declared felony by the law of nations if perpetrated in Africa.)" "They yield," he continues, "to the idea of freedom only under compulsion. They submit to the terms dictated by the government, because obliged so to do. Mr. V. B. Marmillon, one of the richest and most extensive sugar planters in the whole valley of the Mississippi, took the oath of allegiance, but refused to work his plantation unless he could have *his own negroes* returned to him. He had 1,450 acres of cane under cultivation; his whole family of plantation hands left him and came to New Orleans, reporting themselves to me. Among them could be found every species of mechanic and artisan. I called them up and informed them that the government had taken possession of old master's crop, and that they were needed to take it off, and would be paid for their labor. All consented to return; but next morning when the time came for their departure, not one would go. One of them said: 'I will go anywhere else to work, but you may shoot me before I will return to the old plantation.' I afterwards ascertained that Marmillon, whom they called 'Old Cotton Beard,' had boasted in the presence of two colored girls, house servants, how he would serve them when he once more had them in his power. These girls had walked more than thirty miles in the night to bring the information to their friends." These people were set to work elsewhere.

"It is undoubtedly true," says Col. Hanks, "that this year a change for the better seems to be taking place. In some parishes the letting of plantations to Northern men has a powerful effect. The disposition of the planters, however, towards their old slaves, when they consent to hire them, is by no means friendly. I told a planter recently, that it was the express order of Gen. Banks that the negroes should be educated. He replied that, 'no one should teach *his* negroes.'"

Col. Hanks further declares it as his deliberate judgment that "if civil government be established here, and military rule withdrawn, there is the greatest danger that the negro would become subject to some form of serfdom."

His testimony on his point is referred to elsewhere.

The statement of Col. Hanks, and the general correctness of his views, were concurred in by many other intelligent persons, familiar with the subject, and my own observation fully confirms them. In a stretch of three hundred miles up and down the Mississippi, but one creole planter was found (there may, of course, have been others with whom I did not come in contact) who heartily and unreservedly adopted the idea of free labor, and honestly carried it out upon his plantation. And although he declared that, in itself it was successful much beyond his expectation, "yet," he said, "my life and that of my family are rendered very unhappy by the opposition and contumely of my neighbors."

The simple truth is, that the virus of slavery, the lust of ownership, in the hearts of these old masters, is as virulent and active to-day as it ever was. Many of them admit that the old form of slavery is, for the present, broken up. They do not hesitate even to express the opinion that the experiment of secession is a failure; but they scoff at the idea of freedom for the negro, and repeat the old argument of his incapacity to take care of himself, or to entertain any higher motive for exertion than that of the whip. They await with impatience the withdrawal of the military authorities, and the reëstablishment of the civil power of the State to be controlled and used as hitherto for the maintenance of what, to them doubtless, appears the paramount object of all civil authority, of the State itself, some form of the slave system.

With slight modifications, the language recently used by Judge Humphrey in a speech delivered at a Union meeting at Huntsville, Alabama, seems most aptly to express the hopes and purposes of a large proportion of the old masters in the Valley of the Mississippi, who have consented to qualify their loyalty to the Union by taking the oath prescribed by the President's Proclamation of Amnesty. After advising that Alabama *should at once return to the Union by simply rescinding the ordinance of secession,* and after expressing the opinion that the old institution of slavery was gone, Judge Humphrey says: "I believe, in case of a return to the Union, we would receive *political coöperation,* so as to secure the management of that labor by those who were slaves. *There is really no difference, in my opinion, whether we hold them as absolute slaves, or obtain their labor by some other method.* Of course we prefer the old method. But that question is not now before us."

It is true that Gen. Banks entertains slightly different views of the disposition and purposes of the planters, predicated, however, on the belief that the government will adopt some system of "sufficient supervison to compel the negro to labor," although, as we have seen he elsewhere declares that good treatment and fair wages have in all cases been found compulsion enough. What the old masters understand by "a supervision to *compel* the negroes to labor," is not difficult to imagine; certainly it is not good treatment and fair wages.

In the letter before referred to, Gen. Banks says: "I have no doubt that many of the planters within our lines, who are protected by the government in the enjoyment of their property, honestly accept the new situation, and enter into the idea of free labor with sincerity; but it is coupled with an incredulity as to the success of the experiment, natural to their situation, and to the ideas in which they have been educated. This is fostered more by the intractability and brutality of the overseers—the middle class between the laborer and the employer—than it is by any innate disposition of the planter himself, and *their disbelief of any sufficient governmental supervision to compel the negro to labor,* to which they think he is disinclined. If such governmental supervision fail in this regard, the experiment itself will fail."

The opinions hereinbefore expressed as to the spirit and disposition of the old masters, is fully and explicitly sustained by the testimony of Brig.-Gen. Jas. S. Wadsworth, than whom no man had better opportunities for an intelligent judgment.

In his examination before the Commission, soon after his return from an official tour through the Valley of the Mississippi, in the early part of the past Winter, in speaking of the state of things in Louisiana, Gen. Wadsworth said:

"There is one thing that must be taken into account, and that is, that there will exist a very strong disposition among the masters to control these people, and keep them as a subordinate and subjected class. Undoubtedly they intend to do that. I think the tendency to establish a system of serfdom is the great danger to be guarded against. I talked with a planter in the La Fourche district near Thibadouville; he said he was not in favor of secession; he avowed his hope and expectation that slavery would be restored there in some form. I said: 'If we went away and left these people now, do you suppose you could reduce them again to slavery?' He laughed to scorn the idea that they could not. 'What,' said I, 'these men who have had arms in their hands?' 'Yes,' he said, 'we should take the arms away from them, of course.'"

Much other testimony of like import might be adduced, but it is believed not necessary to a clear understanding of the present attitude and position of the two principal constituent elements of the disrupted slave society, in the region under consideration.

In departments where, as here in the Department of the Gulf, there is good reason to believe that the chief military authorities have had at heart their best interests, occupied as they have been with the movements of great armies and by the absorbing cares of the military government devolved upon them, it was inevitable that they should often fall into the hands of incompetent and unfaithful subalterns; even under the system recently put into operation here, and which in many respects is certainly better than the lack of system previously existing, they come directly under the control and government of the assistant provost marshals,* to each of whom is assigned a certain district of the planting region. These assistant provost marshals are usually young subalterns, army officers, captains or lieutenants. They are received into the houses of the planters and treated with a certain consideration. It is hardly to be expected that they should resist the influences that are brought to bear upon them, or that often, without being fully conscious of it, they should not become the employer's instrument of great injustice and ill-treatment towards his colored laborers.

An upright and competent witness whose testimony is herewith submitted, says: "I am free to declare that the provost marshals have not done justice to the laborers on the plantations. They do not see that Gen. Banks's orders are carried out. On many plantations whipping is still permitted." More than one instance of great neglect, injustice and abuse have come to the knowledge of the Commission.

The plan of Gen. Banks has been in operation too short a time to judge fully of its merits. But, as I have just said, it is believed on the whole and as a *temporary* arrangement, superior to any hitherto adopted in that department. In the first place it leaves the classification of the laborers to be determined between the employers and the assistant provost marshals, which is practically leaving it to the employers themselves. Then, secondly, without reference to the capacities or wishes of the employed, or to the competition of the labor market, it determines beforehand the wages of their labor.

In the third place, it implies that the clothing and subsistence of the laborer and his family, should be left to the employers' sense of what is needful for them, with liberty to be sure, for the employed to commute for clothing at the rate of three dollars a month for first class hands, and in similar proportion for other classes.

If the only object to be accomplished was simply "to compel the negro to labor" in a condition of perpetual subordination and subjection, this arrangement would be appropriate enough. But if the object be to make the colored man a self-supporting and self-defending member of the community, then he must be placed in a position where he can determine the value of his own labor, and be left to take the responsibilities of his own existence and well being, as well as that of his family.

As a general proposition this is too plain, and in itself too cogent to require argument. In the actual condition of things in the Department of the Gulf, it might not be convenient or even possible to give it full effect at the present moment; but the temporary adoption of an opposite principle, should not be allowed to become the basis of a permanent system, which would differ very little in its practical working from that of slavery itself.

The rate of wages of the several grades of laborers, as fixed in the Department of the Gulf, is eight, six, five, and three dollars a month, with clothing, or three dollars per month commutation for clothing. In this Department also, the laborer having once selected his employer is compelled to remain with him for a year. While under any system that may be adopted it is doubtless of the greatest importance that the colored laborer should be made to understand the nature and obligations of a contract, and should be held to the just fulfillment of such as he may voluntarily enter into, this form of enforcing the obligation is deemed wrong in principle and liable to serious abuses, and only to be tolerated as a temporary necessity.

The system of Gen. Banks provides also for the education of the colored children on the plantations, and for the establishment of free labor savings institutions, both of which meet the entire approval of the Commission.

I do not deem it necessary here to enter further into the details of these several systems. The proclamation and the orders under which they are established, are undoubtedly of record in the War and Treasury departments. Nor do I desire to criticize too closely plans adopted, doubtless with the best intentions, to meet the urgent necessities which presented themselves in the confusion and chaos consequent upon the breaking up of the old systems, in the midst of a great war. Neither, however, seems to me sufficiently to recognize the freedman's right to intervene in his own affairs, or to contemplate sufficiently the great end of educating him to self-control, self-reliance, and to the exercise of the rights and duties of civilized life.

This must, of course, be a work of time. But unless a system be speedily adopted which shall embrace these as its fundamental and primary objects, the practical freedom and future well-being of the emancipated population, no less than the great industrial interests dependent upon their voluntary, enlightened, and justly compensated labor, will be seriously, if not fatally jeoparded.

Gen. Banks, in the letter hereinbefore so often quoted, says:

"The assignment of the abandoned or forfeited plantations to one department of the government, and the protection and support of the emancipated people to another, is a fundamental error productive of incalculable evils, and cannot be too soon or too thoroughly corrected."

And this is the purport of all the testimony which the Commission has been able to obtain, not in the Department of the Gulf only, but everywhere, in relation to this matter.

The unhesitating judgment of every person, official or other, not interested in the opportunities it affords for peculation, with whom we have consulted, coincides with that of Gen. Banks. All, without exception, declare that no system can avail to effect the great objects contemplated, that does not assign to one and the same authority the care and disposal of the abandoned plantations, and the care and protection of the emancipated laborers who are to cultivate them.

And, after the most thorough investigations, I am authorized in saying that this is the deliberate judgment of the Commission.

* "All questions," says the order of Gen. Banks, "between the employer and the employed, until other tribunals are established, will be decided by the provost marshals of the parishes."

## *THE CASE OF MISS ELIZABETH GARRETT.*

FOR the first time in England, a woman has passed a medical examination. We have repeatedly and strenuously contended for this admission of the sex to the practice of the healing art, and it is therefore with hearty satisfaction that we record this step toward the attainment of the desired result. Miss Elizabeth Garrett, whose name appears in the list of successful candidates at Apothecaries' Hall, has made earnest and unceasing efforts to secure a recognition of the right of women to use their talents in this manner for the benefit of their kind. She has appealed to the University of London and of St. Andrew's, to the College of Surgeons of London and of Edinburgh, and to the College of Physicians of Edinburgh—but all in vain. Each of these learned bodies refused to allow her to compete for the degree which would have given her a legal qualification to labor in the cure of human ills. Fortunately there was another means open to her, and she did not hesitate to avail herself of it. The license of Apothecaries Hall may not be looked upon as conferring so high a professional status as the titles granted by the other institutions which we have enumerated, but in the eye of the law it is all-sufficient, and this could not be withheld from her. The examiners there are bound to grant their certificate to all who comply with the prescribed regulations. The conditions exacted by these are by no means trivial. Five years of study must be gone through, and lectures must be attended on every subject connected with the science of medicine, surgery alone excepted. The first examination is in anatomy, physiology, chemistry, botany, and materia medica, and this Miss Elizabeth Garrett has just passed; for the final examination she cannot present herself until after a lapse of eighteen months, and if she succeeds in going through the ordeal, she will be entitled to be registered as a duly qualified practitioner. This young lady deserves infinite credit for the persistent courage with which she has struggled against obstinate opposition, and the victory which she has won will not be beneficial to herself alone. Repulsed in many quarters, she has discovered and availed herself of an opening through which woman may enter the medical profession; and now that she has led the way, many will no doubt follow in her footsteps. It must be regarded as a very fortunate circumstance that the examiners at Apothecaries Hall were not authorized by the Act from which they derive their powers to exclude any applicant on the ground of sex, for the absence of any such proviso has permitted a practical step to be taken which will no doubt bring to a speedy termination a protracted and hard-fought battle. Public opinion at the present day assuredly will not tolerate the imposition of any new disabilities upon woman, for all the tendencies of the age are in precisely the opposite direction; and there is no reason to fear that this small portal by which they may gain access to a fresh field of exertion will be closed by legislative action. But common sense certainly suggests that since, as the case now stands, women may lawfully practice medicine, it is desirable that every means should be taken to test their qualifications, and to stamp the ablest with some mark of their superior capability. Since they cannot be shut out, the interest of the community plainly demands that they shall be let in upon such terms as will be likely to render them of the greatest service to their kind. Clearly, therefore, they should have every facility accorded to them for pursuing their professional studies under the most favorable auspices. They should have access to the best teachers, and their exertions should be stimulated by the promise of an honorary reward, which would be a perpetual token that they were entitled to the confidence of those who might stand in need of their services. This could only be done by allowing them to become candidates for degrees and diplomas in the ordinary schools. Mixed classes of men and women would no doubt be open to grave objections, more especially in certain special departments of medical study; but this is merely a difficulty of detail, and does not affect the principle which is at stake. All that is asked for is that women shall be allowed to present themselves for examination, and that if they are successful the same result shall ensue as if they were men. How they are to obtain the necessary knowledge is quite another question, and all controversy with regard to it may be fairly adjourned until some machinery for that purpose has been proposed which is justly obnoxious to censure. We are quite aware that a feeling is prevalent in certain quarters, that it is necessarily indelicate for woman to embrace the profession of medicine. But those who hold fast to such an idea either have never learnt, or have forgotten, or wilfully ignore, the fact that female practitioners propose to deal only with the diseases of women and children. Surely it must be considered that, on the score of delicacy, it would often be much better that a woman should deal with a woman's maladies. The whole issue, however, seems to us to resolve itself into one of simple right. Here are a certain number of intellectual girls who have only their own exertions to depend upon for their subsistence, and who demand permission to use the faculties with which God has gifted them in the pursuit of an honorable and useful profession. Who is entitled to say them nay? How long are we to listen to that absurd and wicked cant about the naturally dependent position of woman, the natural fruit of which is that at the present day tens of thousands of English girls depend upon the wages of vice, while every year not a few of them who have not fallen from the status of conventional propriety profane a holy ordinance by selling themselves into matrimony for the equivalent of board and lodging? A trusting wife is a very charming and loveable object—but what an object the woman who, having been taught from her childhood that self-reliance is unfeminine, and upon that principle prevented from learning how to fight the battle of life for herself, finds herself at a ripe age with no husband to cling to, and no resource by which she can earn her own living! If people had pondered upon this latter picture a little more than they have, we should not to-day have need to signalise the passing by Miss Elizabeth Garrett of her examination at Apothecaries Hall as a step toward the consummation of a long-deferred victory —*London Morning Star.*

## *A COINCIDENCE.*

THE recent death of the Hon. Josiah Quincy recalls an incident in his history in connection with the almost simultaneous decease of the Fugitive Slave laws that have disgraced and cursed our land. The first bill was passed in 1793, and had for its signature the name of Washington. A case soon arose under it in the city of Boston. It seems that then even, as in the time of the power of the last of these iniquitious acts, it was deemed desirable to test the fidelity of Massachusetts to the Constitution at the cost of her fidelity to principle. Josiah Quincy, a youth of twenty-one, just admitted to the bar, volunteered to defend the fugitive. He secured his release, though by much the same means as were employed in the rescue of Shadrach sixty years later, through the zealous coöperation of his son and Wendell Phillips. He lived just to see that law abolished, after seventy years of malignant life, against which he first raised his arm and voice. He had seen that bud blossom and bring forth its deadly fruit in painful profusion. He had seen two generations grow up under its death-shade, made sickly and weak in principle and purpose by its overshadowing influence. He had seen great statesmen appear on the stage of action, and at first reluctantly but soon greedily eat of

"That insane root that takes the reason prisoner."

He had seen communities, churches, the press, and the pulpit fall down before the awful idol and pronounce it God. He had seen, when the last and worst of its progeny was born for the ruin of the nation, how men high in talents, position, and sanctity had cried out, "This decree of hell is the voice of God. Whoever annuls or opposes it is fighting against God." He had seen the legitimate fruit of that first-born of sin—the power that begot it, drunken with confidence and mad with pride, spring at the throat of the nation that had so faithfully nourished it for three-score years and ten.

He had seen a counter element, the fruit of the same spirit that made him strong to assail the iniquity at its birth, grow steadily and rapidly, mid scorn, and persecution, and haughty threats of dissolution, till it mounted the throne of the popular will, only to be attacked by the leagued upholders of the awful crime. He had seen, amid the light and shade of the fearful struggle, the steady development of the principles of liberty; beheld their purifying current cleansing the corruptions of legislation, pushing back their healthful tides farther and farther, till they overwhelmed the law he had first resisted, and were rapidly sweeping forward to overwhelm the provision of the Constitution out of which it had arisen.

The sight satisfied the ancient Simeon. He murmurs gratefully his "Nunc dimittis," and the Lord let his servant depart in peace, his eyes beholding, through, beyond, above the clouds of strife and death, the salvation of God and the glory of his people. Memorable as were his age, his honors, and his worth, they will be consummated by this deed in his history and coincidence in his death. He first opposed the Fugitive Slave acts; he died with their death.—*Independent.*

## *TWO NATIONAL ACADEMIES.*

MR. SUMNER, on the 30th of June, introduced a bill in the Senate of the United States, which, by unanimous consent, was read twice and ordered to be printed, for the creation of two bodies corporate, one the National Academy of Art and Literature, and the other the National Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. Each of the academies is to consist of no more than fifty ordinary members, of whom not more than ten shall be elected in any one year, and no nomination for any kind of membership is to be acted upon until after it has been before the Academy for one year.

The following is the bill:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That S. Austin Allibone, Pennsylvania; William C. Bryant, New York; Frederick E. Church, New York; George W. Curtis, New York; Richard H. Dana, Massachusetts; John S. Dwight, Massachusetts; Ralph W. Emerson, Massachusetts; Fitz Green Halleck, Conn.; Oliver W. Holmes, Mass.; Henry W. Longfellow, Mass.; James R. Lowell, Mass.; George P. Marsh, Vermont; Hiram Powers, Ohio; William W. Story, Mass.; George Ticknor, Mass.; Henry T. Tuckerman, New York; Gulian C. Verplanck, New York; Wm. D. Whitney, Conn.; John G. Whittier, Mass.; Joseph E. Worcester, Mass.; their associates and successors duly chosen, are hereby declared to be a body corporate for the study and cultivation of the ancient and modern languages, letters and the fine arts, by the name of the National Academy of Literature and Art.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That Geo. Bancroft, New York; Henry Ward Beecher, New York; Horace Binney, Pennsylvania; Robert J. Breckinridge, Kentucky; Edward Everett, Mass.; Thos. Ewing, Ohio; Henry W. Halleck, Army of the United States, California; Samuel G. Howe, Mass.; Charles King, New York; Francis Lieber, New York; J. Lothrop Motley, Mass.; John G. Palfrey, Mass.; Wendell Phillips, Mass.; Alonzo Potter, Pa.; Josiah Quincy, Mass.; Henry B. Smith, New York; Jared Sparks, Mass.; Robt. J. Walker, District of Columbia; Francis Wayland, Rhode Island; Theo. D. Woolsey, Connecticut, their associates and successors duly chosen, are hereby declared to be a body corporate for the study and cultivation of history, and the sciences which concern morals and government, by the name of the National Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That each of these national academies shall consist of not more than fifty ordinary members, of whom not more than ten shall be elected in any one year; that nominations shall be made and elections held at the regular annual meeting only, and no nomination for any kind of membership shall be acted upon until it shall have been before the academy one year, and shall have been considered by a committee.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That each of these national academies shall have power to make its own organization, including its constitution, bylaws, and rules and regulations; to fill all vacancies created by death, resignation, or otherwise; to provide for the election of foreign and domestic members, what number shall be a quorum, the division into classes, and all other matters needful or usual in such institutions, and to report the same to Congress.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted,* That each of these national academies shall hold an annual meeting at such place in the United States as may be designated, and whenever thereto requested by any department of the Government, shall investigate, examine, and report upon any subject whithin their respective provinces, it being understood that the actual expense thereof, if any, may be paid from appropriations which shall be made for the purpose, but the academies shall receive no compensation whatever for any service to the government of the United States.

## *THADDEUS STEVENS AT HOME.*

MR. STEVENS arrived at his home in Lancaster on Friday evening, July 8th, from Washington. It was not known, except by a few of the citizens, that their honored representative was in their midst until the strains from the Union League Band, in front of his residence, about 9½ o'clock, gave them the information. A considerable audience was gathered in a few minutes, and after the band had performed several pieces, Mr. Stevens made his appearance at the door, and was received with enthusiastic applause. He returned thanks to his neighbors and friends for their kind greeting, after an absence of seven months in the public service. It was not his intention, he said, to make a speech, or to refer at length to the proceedings of the late session of Congress. His duties had been somewhat onerous, but if the legislation of Congress would have the effect to aid the government to put down the gigantic and wicked rebellion, he would be amply repaid for all his labors. He had not agreed with the majority in the repeal of the commutation clause, but it was argued by the friends of the repeal that it would have the effect to fill up the ranks of the army with men, and that Copperheads would have to perform personal service or furnish substitutes. If this would be the effect of the law he would rejoice. Especially would he be pleased, if those who were doing all they could to embarrass the government in this crisis of the country's fate, and using efforts to prevent the filling up the ranks of the army, were compelled to do their duty to the country.

In regard to the state of the country, the speaker said he had no doubt whatever as to the final result of the present contest between liberty and slavery; the only doubt he had was whether the nation had yet been sufficiently chastised for their cruel oppression of a harmless and a long suffering race, a portion of God's children. Whenever the Almighty saw that we as a people were properly humiliated and chastened for our sins in this regard, victory would assuredly perch upon our banners, and we would become a great, united, and altogether free people. He feared, however, that our cup was not yet full. The failure of the House to concur with the Senate in submitting to the people an amendment to the Constitution forever abolishing slavery in the United States, by the opposition of the minority preventing a two-thirds vote in favor of it, he was fearful would postpone the day when He would say, "Peace, be still!"

Mr. Stevens asked to be excused from saying anything further, as he was somewhat wearied by travel and the heat, and bade the crowd good-night.

Mr. Stevens is enjoying good health. Hard work seems to agree with him, and from all appearances he is now as able to enter the field against the rebels and their sympathizers as at any time since he entered Congress in 1859. This will be gratifying news to the thousands in Lancaster County who delight to honor their distinguished representative.—*Philadelphia Press.*

RELIGION AND MORALITY IN FRANCE.—Some modern writer has complained bitterly of the separation of the sexes by their different systems of thought and education. In France the separation is very wide. The women, generally, are Catholics—the men, generally, Deists. I have often tried to get accurately at the real state of opinion, but it is not very easy. This much, however, is certain, that most educated Frenchmen are Deists of a type not unfairly represented by M. Renan, and that nearly all Frenchwomen in good society observe the rites of the Church of Rome. The boys are Catholics when in petticoats, but turn Deists generally between fifteen and seventeen, and remain so all their lives. This difference is, of course, a cause of much estrangement in families, because a Catholic lady finds on certain subjects a companionship in her confessor which she lacks in her husband. These facts may serve to account for what may seem such strange contradictions in modern France. The position of the Church, for instance, is both very weak and very strong. The direct power of the Church of Rome in France is infinitely smaller than that of the English Church in England, because the men are openly against it; but its indirect power, through the confessional, is still very considerable. For instance, the English Church in England is strong enough to repress the utterance of heterodox opinions in general society, but in French society such opinions are discussed with perfect freedom. On the other hand, such is the influence of the Roman Church in France over the women, that fathers who hate the priests find themselves nevertheless compelled to let their daughters confess themselves to priests, because a girl who should omit the *premiere communion* would find her position amongst women perfectly unendurable. And, as Catholicism in woman is *comme il faut,* many men in France like girls for being Catholics, the more bigoted the better, though it is difficult to see how any union can be intellectually complete between persons who differ so widely on such an important subject as religion. As to morality, I think there can be no doubt that France, on the whole, is a more immoral country than England; but it is an interesting fact that French mothers dread sending their boys to London, for fear of the dear innocent youths being contaminated by our bad example. —*Macmillan's Magazine.*

## *DEATH OF GEORGE P. MORRIS.*

GEORGE P. MORRIS died at his residence in New York, July 6th, aged 62 years. Mr. Morris was born at Philadelphia on the 10th of October, 1802. At an early age he removed to New York, where, in his fifteenth year, he commenced his literary career by writing verses for the New York *Gazette.* In August, 1823, in conjunction with Samuel Woodworth, he commenced the publication of the New York *Mirror,* a journal which employed some of the best literary talent of the country, and was one of the most prominent periodicals of its class, until Dec. 31, 1842, when it was discontinued under the financial disasters of the times. In 1843, he associated himself with Mr. Willis in the publication of The New York *Mirror.* In 1844, he established a daily paper called the *Evening Mirror.* At the close of 1845, he commenced alone a weekly journal called *The National Press,* the title of which he changed in 1846 to that of *The Home Journal,* and from that time until his death he and Mr. Willis conducted it. Though well known as a journalist, he was much more widely known as a song-writer, and as such was one of the most popular of his day. Millions of copies of his "Woodman, Spare that Tree" are said to have been circulated, and, with others, as "We Were Boys Together," "Land, Ho!" "Long Time Ago," "The Origin of Yankee Doodle," "My Mother's Bible," etc., proved sources of great profit to their publishers. The melodies for many of his songs were written by Balfe, Sir John Stephenson and other distinguished English composers, and have been sung in public by Malibran, Russell, Madame Anna Bishop and many other celebrated vocalists. Various editions of his poems have been published, including one in 1840 with illustrations by Weir and Chapman. In 1853, he published a volume entitled "The Deserted Bride and other Poems," and he afterwards edited a volume of "American Melodies." In 1837 he produced a successful drama, entitled "Brier Cliff," founded on incidents in the American Revolution. In 1842, he wrote the libretto of the opera of "The Maid of Saxony." He has also published a volume of prose sketches, entitled "The Little Frenchman and his Water Lots." Mr. Morris was for some time a Brigadier-General in the New York State militia. For many years he resided at Undercliff, a country-seat on the Hudson, nearly opposite West Point.

A BERNE-ING METHOD OF DIVORCE.—Bishop Burnet says: "In Berne they have a novel way of dealing with matrimonial disputants. Divorces were freely granted; but first the applicants must go through this test: A small room was prepared, in which husband and wife were put, the door being then closed, to remain for six weeks, except it should be set in motion at the urgent and united request of the wedded pair. There were in the room one stool, one plate, one spoon, a unity of all the requisites, and the solitary bed was of such dimensions that, if they chose to use it together, they must needs lie very close. Of one thing, and one only, there was a duplicate; and that was a little treatise on the duties of husbands and wives toward each other. No visitor was permitted to go near them: and they had only a glimpse at intervals of the grim face of the janitor, as he pushed their food through a hole in the door. The bishop states that the test was attended with the most wholesome results. In most cases, the parties were most excellent friends in a few days; and very few could stand out more than a fortnight. Another very gratifying circumstance was, that they had scarcely on record a case in which a second application was made by persons who had already gone through the ordeal."

NOVEL SCENE AT A WEDDING.—The Bolton (England) *Chronicle* tells this story: An unusual circumstance occurred at a wedding on Monday last in the parish church at Farnsworth. Joseph Hindley, a widower of about eight weeks' loneliness, calling himself sixty years of age, and judged by his "good natured friends" to be about three-score and ten, was allied to Harriet Booth, aged fifty-six. The ceremony having been completed at the altar, by the Rev. W. H. Burns, the bride and bridegroom accompanied him to the vestry to sign the register. That verification being secured, the bridegroom asked permission to sing a verse of a hymn before they left this sanctum for the wiles and temptations and troubles of the outer world. It appeared to the reverend gentleman a strange request, but on its being urgently pressed he gave consent, and the bridegroom toned forth in hearty if not melodious style the following lines:

"Together let us sweetly live,
Together let us die,
And each a starry crown receive,
And reign above the sky."

And then with his bride took his departure in a state of beatitude.

HOW GOD FORGIVES.—How beautifully God forgives! "I will never remember it again," he says when he forgives our sins. Why, if you could see God, you would never, by the least turn of the eye, by any word, or by the slightest inflection of the voice, know that he remembered the sin that he had forgiven. We forgive a sin, you know, laying it up. Once in a while we shoot out a hint of it sidewise. We forgive slowly, grudgingly, imperfectly and meanly; but when God forgives, he throws the offense out of his mind, and says, "I will never make mention of it again; I will sink it as in the depths of the sea." There is a low, contemptible way of forgiving; and there is a noble and manly way of doing it. One kind of forgiveness is an additional provocation; but the Christian way is glorious and beautiful.—*Beecher.*


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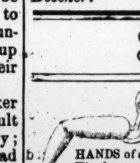

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